CONVENTION ON CULTURAL UNITY IN INDIA

[Under the Auspices of the T. A. Parekh Education Endowment]

MAHABALESHWAR

[28th to 30th October 1949]

SPEECHES AND ABSTRACTS OF PROCEEDINGS

The T. A. Parekh Education Endowment

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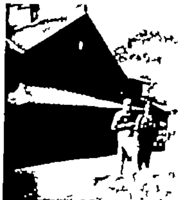
HE HON B G KHER, Chief Minister of Bombay, being received by the Chairman SHRI K. G SAIYIDAIN (right) on his arrival to inaugurate the Convention. Others in the photograph are SHRI HUBLI the Collector of North Satara (to SHRI SAIYIDAIN'S right) PANDIT VINAYAKRAO PATWARDHAN (behind) and Raosaheb MALAVADE, D.S.P. North Satara



Th[illegible] Flag was unfurled by THE HON P M [illegible] Educational Minister



DR ZAKIR HUSSAIN

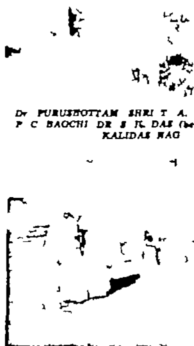


DR K L SHRIMALI PROF (DHAN and MR J A

Dr PURUSHOTTAM SHRI T A, P C BAOCHI DR S K DAS (be) KALIDAS NAG



THE H N P N MATHUR THE HON B KHER and PROF C N PATWARDHAN Secretar



MADAME SOPHIA WADIA and URMILA MEHTA

THE CONVENTION AT MAHABALESHWAR

A Convention on Cultural Unity in India was held under the auspices of the Parekh Education Endowment at Mahabaleshwar from the 26th to the 30th of October 1949. The Convention which was attended by many distinguished individuals and representatives of Universities and other educational and cultural organizations as well as representatives of some Provincial Governments, was inaugurated by the Honourable Shri B. G Kher Premier and Education Minister of Bombay Province.

Objectives of the Convention

The object of the Convention, the first of its kind in India, was to examine the psychological and educational situation which has been created by the recent happenings in the country and to consider how a psychological reorientation could be brought about amongst the adults as well as the students in schools and colleges so as to develop a broad humanistic outlook as well as a sense of national and cultural unity The Convention was particularly interested in discussing and clarifying its own stand on some of the basic issues involved in the cultural crisis through which we have been passing and the part that educational institutions can play in dealing with them.

There is a wide-spread concern amongst the genuine well-wishers of the country at the fact, that some very undesirable tendencies and movements have been developing in our national life during the last two centuries of political subjection and particularly during the last few decades. These must be arrested if our country is to be worthy of the freedom which has come to us largely as a gift from Mahatma Gandhi. Some of them are the almost inevitable result of our political slavery which always inculcates its own peculiar attitudes and values and techniques of survival which are unfortunately accepted by most people. It is only the select,

the morally and intellectually strong, who can withstand the temptation to succumb to these ways. Other tendencies and characteristics have resulted from our more recent pre-Partition and post Partition history of communal and sectarian conflicts and the unleashing of many undesirable forces which always try to come to the top at the time of great national crises and upheavals.

The socio-economic as well as the educational forces that have been operating in our life for decades have placed a premium on selfishness, on exploitation on a narrowly utilitarian outlook, in a word, on a philosophy of life which asks not 'What can I put into life?' but 'What can I get out of life? Hence the wide-spread black-marketing, profiteering, jobbery nepotism and fall in general civic standards which our national leaders as well as our thinkers and educationists have been publicly and repeatedly deploring! It occurred, therefore to the organizers of this Convention that it would be a good thing to bring together a group, consisting of representatives of universities and other educational and cultural bodies, to meet together for about a week and to thrash out some of these problems under the guidance of a few leaders of thought, in a dispassionate academic and non-political spirit. The Organizing Committee is grateful to all who responded and helped to make the Convention a success.

Our Chairman Shri Saiyidain who was to write a foreword to this little book, could not do so owing to indisposition. We look forward to his speedy recovery and continued guidance in the task we have undertaken.

C. N Patwardhan

Secretary

DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION

Dr Mulk Raj Anand, Bombay
Prof. B. L. Atreya, Benares University
Dr P C. Bagchi, Shanti Niketan.
Shri Nanabhai Bhatt, Government of Saurashtra.
Principal Christie, Bombay
Dr. S. K. Das, Government of West Bengal.
Shri S. S. Dasnavi, New Education Fellowship, Bombay
Prof. V K. Gokak, P.E.N
Shri B. N Gokhale, Indian Women s University
Principal P D. Gupta, Agra University
Dr Abid Hussain, Jamia Millia.
Dr Zakir Hussain, Jamia Millia, Hindustani Talimi Sangh and Aligarh University
Mr Wyn Hartwell, U.S.A. Information Services.
Shri Tarka Tirtha Lakshman Shastri Joshi, Wai.
Principal S. B. Junnarkar Rural University Anand.
Shri K. Narain Kale, Poona.
Dr S. M. Katre Poona University
Mr J A. K. Martyn, Indian Public Schools' Head Masters Conference Dehra Dun.
Dr Kalidas Nag Indian Council of World Affairs.
Hon. Prem Narain Mathur Education and Home Minister Rajasthan.
Shrimati Urmila Mehta, All India Women s Conference.
Prof. N A. Nikam, Indian Institute of Culture Bangalore.
Dr Sir R. P Paranjpye Poona.
Shri V N Patani, Government of Kutch.
Prof. C. N Patwardhan, Bombay
Prof. R. P Patwardhan, Poona.

Pandit Vinayakrao Patwardhan, Gandharva Maha V' laya, Poona.

Dr L. R. Phillips, British Council in India, Agra.

Sardar Pooransingh, Government of PEPSU Union.

Mr R. Mc. C. Samples, British Information Services.

Dr N S. N Sastry Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

Shri D L. Sharma, Government of Rajasthan.

Dr K. L. Shrimall, Vidya Bhuvan, Udaipur

Dr Ishwarnath Topa, Osmania University

Shri K. L. Vaidyanathan, Hindustan Scout Association.

Shrimati Shirin Vajifdar Academy of Dancing, Bombay

Prof. A. R. Wadia, Baroda University

Shrimati Sophia Wadia, Bombay

Shri B. H. Zaidi, Former Chief Minister Rampur

The following, while wishing the Convention a success, regretted their inability to attend —

Hon. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister Government of India, Shri C. M. Acharya, Utkal University Shri E. W Aryanayakam, Hindustan Talimi Sangh, Prof. K. R. Srinivas Aiyengar Andhra University Dr A. Chidambar nath Chettiar Annamalai University Shri K. V Dubey Vice-Chancellor Nagpur University Prof. Mohamed Habib, Aligarh University Dr M. R. Jayakar Poona University Dr Humayun Kabir Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Delhi, Acharya Narendra Dev Lucknow University Rai Bahadur G H. Sinha, Patna University Dr K. L. Shrivastava, Bhopal, Dr Tarachand, Secretary for Education, Government of India, Delhi, The Registrar Travancore University

INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY SHRI T. A. PAREKH

[26th October 1949]

Honourable Prime Minister Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a matter of both pride and pleasure to extend to you all a very hearty welcome to this Convention. I wish, I did not figure anywhere in this conference, but my friends, who have been helping me for the past many months in devising and carrying out certain plans of education, desire that I should say a few words by way of introduction. Lest I should displease them I agreed.

At a very early age, I realized that life for a rational being that man is, cannot mean mere physical existence. It has its spiritual side the finer side, if I may say so, and it is incumbent on every person to try to the best of his ability to develop this finer side of life. I wondered how best I could do this myself. "Lives of great men remind us" the poet has sung, "we can make our lives sublime" And so I drank deep at the fountain of their life histories. The result was a passionate desire in me to render whatever service I could to my fellow beings.

Let me tell you, at the outset, that I have always looked upon humanity as one. I believe in One World and Universal Brotherwood. To me all men are sons of one father God. Nothing, therefore, distresses me more than to see the many differences that exist at present. To my mind, they are a product of misunderstanding, a lack of proper understanding. The removal of such misunderstanding and the establishment of better understanding between man and man seemed to me an imperative desideratum, and I was convinced of this especially after witnessing vividly the effects of the last World War. A long time even before that, as a matter of fact, I had made up my mind to retire from business at a particular age and to devote the rest of my life to the service of humanity and, when the time came, I did so with determination and this

explains my decision to place at the disposal of my country all my resources, and, of course my personal services as well, for what they may be worth, for cultural and educational activities.

Great changes have taken place the world over during the last decade, the most outstanding of them from our point of view being the withdrawal of British power from India. What followed is recent history- the good and bad memories thereof are fresh in the minds of us all. Many amongst us must have often echoed the famous line of poet Wordsworth, "Have I not reason to lament what man has made of man?" If we are to prevent a repetition of the unpleasant experiences we have had, prompt and positive action in the right direction is admittedly necessary whilst the lessons are still fresh in our minds. In other words, the crying need of the hour is to focus immediate attention on this and direct all efforts in one channel. All Indians must begin to think in unison. Political freedom has come political integration is an accomplished fact; but that is not enough, if the great work of that great departed soul is to go on unimpeded. Unity of purpose unity of out look, and unity of action are the triple unities which everyone of us must strive for today This task is no doubt difficult. But all energies will have to be bended in that direction if the independence of the country is to be preserved and real peace is to be re-established.

Evils are many not only in national but in international life as well. Let us not be weighed down by them or even by the thought of how enormous the task of overcoming them is. But let us be determined to contribute our share for the era dication of these evils by removing them at least from our national life, to make a modest start.

It is to this end that I sought the help and guidance of certain eminent personalities in this country immediately on my return to India. By nature, I am a pacifist and a firm believer in the force of ideas. In the race between ideas and arms it is ideas that will and must triumph. It is necessary to have a right type of mind for this. Intellectual confusion is great and if our activities are to be in the right direction, clean and clear thinking is absolutely essential. The one

man, who did this for the whole nation and who never allowed this country to swerve from the right path, has unfortunately been snatched away from us by the cruel hand of destiny The burden now falls on you, gentlemen—the leaders of thought. The sole purpose of calling this Convention is to bring together as many leading intellectuals as possible. Here you have been provided a common platform for all shades and schools, of cultural and educational thought. Certain problems are placed before you in an academic form. Please be so good as to deliberate on these and other problems of vital importance to our dear motherland. Need I say the whole country will derive immeasurable benefits out of your discourses and deliberations and decisions, if any Please remember that, in forming their judgment on India, other countries will not blame the general masses in the country for the shortcomings in our national life. The responsibilities for these will be laid at your door for not training and educating them rightly You have to rise equal to that responsibility

Granting, gentlemen, that a change, and a change for the better is warranted, the question arises How shall we bring about that change? In my own mind, I have not the least doubt, friends, that if any change is to be of a lasting nature, it must come about as a peaceful evolution. Such a peaceful evolution becomes possible only if the mind is properly trained, and for that type of training of the mind, no instrument can be more potent than education. Basing my plan on this conviction, I offered what I have saved out of my earnings to certain friends, with a request to devise a scheme of education, whereby the pre-requisite condition of national unity conducive to peaceful progress could be created.

The future of our country rests on the coming generations, and it is, accordingly vitally important for us to ensure that they are educated properly and along right lines. Let me not tire out your patience by narrating in detail the various shortcomings in the national, social, economic, and cultural life of our country All that has been said in the circular letters despatched to you and the literature that we have received in the form of observation and

from various learned scholars. All that I would say is that intelligent planning and hard and continuous efforts on the part of every conscious person are necessary at this stage for evolving a process whereby these defects could be removed. Concrete work in this direction has been envisaged by my friends and two tentative schemes have been drawn up, providing a system of education which promises to produce men and women having the right kind of spirit, vision and character These schemes will be circulated amongst the members attending this Convention.

We propose to make a start by establishing two institutions. One will be the Institute of a National Service on an all-India basis imparting integrated education at a post-graduate level with sufficient intensive courses in practical field-work, covering many elements of social service. The second Institute we have in mind will cater for the intermediary group, who guided by and in co-operation with the trained men and women of the Post-Graduate Institute of National Service, would provide very able social workers in every cause. This will be a very modest effort, and I beseech every one of the members present here to extend individually a helping hand to the proposed group of workers who will devote themselves to the regeneration of the youth. Maybe these plans of ours have their own merits and demerits, wisdom or folly right or wrong conceptions, but it is up to you to accept only those that you deem to be right, rejecting the unsound and the impracticable without any qualification or reservation. I have to request you to give us all help in this respect. By doing so, you would be adding your own quota for creating a harmonious, glorious, united and moral India, an India that is sufficiently healthy and strong by itself to be able amply and effectively to contribute in evolving a just and peaceful community of nations.

I would like here to express my sense of deep gratitude to the Hon. Shri Balasaheb Kher who has been so kind as to spare his valuable time out of his multiple activities to come and inaugurate this Convention. I need hardly add that his presence here will prove, besides being very valuable a source of great inspiration to us all.

To thank a co-worker in public may amount to mutual admiration. At the risk of courting such a charge, I must thank my friend Mr K. G Saiyidain, Educational Advisor to the Government of Bombay who has fully thrown in all his energies and all his best thoughts to the work of organising this Convention. He has also very ably guided me throughout during the course of the last year and my friends and myself are further assured of his continuous support for the educational work that we propose to undertake.

In conclusion, I extend to all of you once again, a very hearty welcome thanking you at the same time for giving me such a patient hearing.—JAI HIND

WELCOME ADDRESS BY SHRI K. G. SAIYIDAIN
[26th October 1949]

Friends,

As Chairman of the Organizing Committee I have much pleasure in associating myself with the welcome which has been extended to you by Mr Parekh. This is no conventional phrase that I am using—I am really happy at the thought that so many distinguished men and women, who are in a position to help in the reorientation of our intellectual life and the patterns of our behaviour have come together to deliberate over this very problem. It is not, as you must have noticed, a conference in the conventional sense—the only thing conventional about it, I hope, would be its name—but is really meant to be a small, friendly discussion group of persons who are interested in education and culture and are anxious to preserve and consolidate the highest value of our national life and help in adjusting the national mind to the new demands and urges of the age. For we are living not only in a new and dynamically changing India but a new world in which science, industrialism and new methods of warfare have completely reset the old problems. If we are unable to adapt ourselves to the new situation and solve these problems satisfactorily we shall not be able to retain and consolidate our freedom or make any progress or contribute anything of value to the world. In the period of our history that has just come to an end, we were in a state of political helplessness and national policies were formulated by our British rulers. Its psychological result was a development of a state of mind which did not seriously concern itself with the shaping of the future and was content to let things take their course. Their were many outstanding individual exceptions, no doubt, but I am talking of the general attitude that prevailed. It was sceptical of much good coming out of organized collective effort and it enjoyed the rather dubious satisfaction of being

able to ascribe all ills to the fact of foreign domination. It was a peg on which people were apt to hang their own short comings and failures as well as the evil results of political subjection. Now with the attainment of freedom, this situation has been completely changed and we must now take upon ourselves, fairly and squarely the full responsibility both for our success and our failure This obviously calls for a more objective, more critical and more exacting self-appraisal, both as individuals and as a people and a more dynamic attitude towards the problems that beset us. One obvious justification for convening a conference like this is the challenge of this new responsibility which we, as teachers, thinkers and writers share with the administrators, the politicians and the statesmen.

Now in this world of power politics, where force and violence hold undisputed sway and the Atom Bomb seems to have become the final arbiter of the fate of the world, it may appear somewhat presumptuous for people like us, who have no more formidable weapon to wield than the pen and no missiles stronger than the spoken word to throw into the arena, it may seem somewhat presumptuous for us to believe that we can arrest or divert the fateful current of events. I want, in all humility to challenge that assumption and to put forward the proposition—which is very very old, indeed, but has been elbowed out of the way in this age—that, ideas are more powerful than armaments and that it is human thought, rather than any of its mechanical products, which must triumph ultimately in deciding human affairs. Many many years ago, during the comparatively mild horrors of the First World War the new Republic of America put this proposition in words which I would accept without a change·—

"Who cares to paint a picture now or to write any poetry or to search the meaning of language, or speculate about the constitution of matter? It seems like fiddling when Rome burns. Or to edit a magazine—to cover paper with ink, to care about hopes that have gone stale to launch phrases that are lost in the uproar ? What is the good now of thinking ? What is a critic compared to a battalion of infantry ? Yet the fact remains that the final argument against cannon is ideas.

who steadily held aloft the banner of moral values. So people were trained in political Satyagraha, in mass demonstrations, in breaking the laws and bravely accepting the consequences. Now these are qualities which are very valuable in the storm and stress of a political struggle they are of secondary importance and sometimes irrelevant or even harmful at the stage of rebuilding the social fabric of a newly liberated people. What is needed for success at this stage is a capacity for disciplined and co-operative effort, a healthy respect for laws which are of the peoples own making a spirit of tolerance and accommodation and a readiness to subordinate personal ends to the demands of social welfare. These qualities have to be cultivated through various educative agencies and through the quiet but irresistible pressure of social institutions. If the dawn of freedom in India had not been sullied by blood and suffering and bitterness, which immediately preceded and followed the partition of the country people would have entered into the new era of freedom in a very different and constructive spirit. As it was, the country found itself confronted with a terrible situation and the problems of refugees, of communal disorders, of the breakdown of law and the disruption of economic life threatened to destroy our freedom and, at least for a time they completely overshadowed that great achievement. If Gandhiji had been vouchsafed a longer life he would have turned the full force of his dynamic and mellowed personality towards this objective and his love and wisdom and spiritual strength could have sucked the poison out of our system and redeemed our national soul. But this was not to be. Even then during the few fateful months a the 15th of August when his serene light shone in our it was only he who stood between us and the hysteria and violence that had swept both India and F like a plague I shudder to think what might have fate not only of the Muslim minority but of the wh and the values and ideals for which it has and highest—if Gandhiji had not thrown him arena and staked his life for the cause of dec While the whole of India was rejoicing, as celebrating the 15th of August, this lonely

man of God was trudging the villages of Bengal to allay the flames of communal madness, knowing that the fight for freedom had not ended but had to be continued in the hearths and homes and in the hearts and minds of millions of people living in the villages and cities of India. He was, at least, able to cry 'Halt' to this madness and give the nation breathing time to call up and consolidate its inner spiritual resources, even as the administration of oxygen might give a desperately gasping patient the chance to fight back to life.

The second limiting factor was also psychologically inherent in the situation. If we wish to develop the qualities that guard and sustain freedom, we cannot do so to any appreciable degree when people are in a state of political slavery. It may be possible to lay down the foundations in the case of the elect, one may actually succeed in implanting them. But a large majority of the ordinary people can acquire the attitudes and qualities of free men when they have actually had a chance to live under conditions of freedom. So it would not be reasonable to expect that the forty crores of men and women could have been trained for democracy or freedom before they had any vital experience of genuinely free, democratic institutions. Now is the time, however to acquire that experience and this could have been done naturally and smoothly if freedom had come under normal conditions. But, as it is, our problem, as teachers and educators and intellectual leaders—I use that phrase with a due sense of modesty but if we, who are connected with educational and cultural work, will not assume that role who will?—our problem is much more difficult and it has become necessary for us to examine it intelligently and dispassionately and to decide what we can do to arrest the forces of disruption and dishonesty and create a climate of integrity and concord which is essential for the successful functioning of democracy. Gandhiji has blazed a new trail and left behind a rich legacy of moral and spiritual wisdom as well at practical commonsense. He has broken down the barriers and bridged the distance which divided the classes from the masses, the politicians and the intellectuals from the common people and so the way is open to us to follow in his and carry on the task of bringing about an

reorientation both amongst the educated classes and the people in general.

I shall not presume to tread on the ground which our distinguished guest of the morning, Mr B. G Kher is to cover in his Inaugural Address or to anticipate the trend of your discussions. My only object in taking up your time, is to place before you the nature of the problem as I see it. It seems to me that, broadly speaking, there are two main issues involved in it. First we have to fight resolutely and systematically against all those morally paralysing tendencies which are producing various forms of narrowness, intolerance and fanaticism amongst us. Inspite of the social injustice and discriminations that have disfigured our society from time to time our tradition has, on the whole, been one of humanism. I use that word not in the technical or philosophical sense but as denoting an antithesis of exclusivism and illiberalism. We have at our best, welcomed and assimilated philosophical and religious ideas which have come from various sources and used them to enrich the pattern of our thought and culture instead of rejecting them as foreign. And when we have departed from that wholesome tradition, the result has been degeneration and decay In fact, as some of our great writers and thinkers—Gandhiji, Tagore Iqbal, Radhakrishnan—have pointed out over and over again in their writings, India has been great and progressive when it has been receptive with the windows of her heart and mind wide open. It has tended to decline whenever it has shut itself into mental isolation and refused to assimilate new elements and cultural trends. If this was true in the past, it is a hundred-fold truer today when distances have vanished and science and industry have linked up not only the people of each country but all the peoples of the world into a stronger bond of inter-dependence than ever before. Any developments, therefore that accentuate division and intolerance—whether based on provincialism or regionalism, or communalism or sectarianism, or linguistic...
only antithetical to the true genius of Ind...
to weaken her political and moral
our schools and colleges and oth...
propaganda agencies to fight

and to ensure that these geographical or cultural or religious affiliations are not allowed to disrupt the sense of basic national unity There is nothing wrong about them, it is good for people to love their homes or their language or their religion for after all, these are the things that are woven into our culture. But love is an inclusive not an exclusive sentiment there is no reason in the nature of things why these attachments should come in the way of our devotion to wider ideals It is true that the appeal to the narrow and the immediate is easier and people can be united more readily on the basis of common prejudices and oppositions. But it is part of the function of education to substitute the broader view for the narrower the ultimate view for the immediate and commend the difficult but right path when it would be easy and attractive to choose the wrong one It is here that there is a parting of ways between the teacher on the one hand and the demagogue the ordinary politician and the propagandist on the other They are out to exploit people s prejudices and follies to their own advantage and, therefore their interest lies in acting as a megaphone for them. The true teacher and the thinker however refuse to swim with the current or to pander to popular prejudices. They are concerned primarily with the inculcation of right values and attitudes and while they are anxious to study popular psychology to achieve effectiveness of approach they are indifferent to popular acclaim. They have—or should have—the courage to swim against the current. So, if we are to be true to this spirit, we must use all the psychological resources at our disposal to build up in the younger generation a liberal outlook, a broad vision and a gracious spirit of tolerance I put it to you respectfully that we shall be unworthy of our position if we are not willing to take this stand resolutely in favour of what we consider right and against what we know to be wrong. Otherwise, if I may say so, when the salt has lost its savour wherewith will it be salted ?

The second issue that confronts us is a general decline in our civic standards which is seen in the growing corruption, nepotism and jobbery in our public life in the lowering of our efficiency in every-day things, of our pride in crafts.

manship, of our capacity for disciplined and co-operative effort, against which our public leaders have been raising their voice of protest repeatedly I am not naive enough to believe that all these things, which have also their socio-economic roots, can be cured only through educative influences. But I have no doubt either that even the most perfect socio-economic system—and what a distant prospect that is! —cannot possibly charge, by itself the hearts and minds of the people and that it is necessary to supplement it by a conscious educational effort wedded to these ends. I am not at all sure that our educationists and educational institutions have seriously concerned themselves with this problem. They have been preoccupied far too much with examinations, syllabuses, text books and the study of specialized branches of knowledge to be able to give the students either a broad and coherent view of the world and their place in it or a sensitiveness to questions of values attitudes and standards. I am amazed at the way our students often pass through colleges, intellectually unscathed, emotionally unquickened and without forming habits of hard work and integrity and critical thinking Naturally therefore in later life they fall easy victims to slackness, inefficiency and glib propaganda. It is this psychological state of negation against which we have to struggle. I would venture to suggest to you that all the recent political distortions in our national life and emergence of many parties with their ideology of separatism, their technique of exploiting differences, their narrow revivalist and intolerant outlook are not merely political facts, they are the moral and psychological symptoms of a deep-rooted disease. And what appears to the superficial observer as a pull for power amongst different individuals or groups is also, at a deeper level, a pull for power between competing ideologies and values of life. As educators, we are part of this great fight between reason, decency tolerance and humanism on the one hand, and intolerance illiberalism, obscurantism and blind revivalism on the other May it be given to us to fight hard and fight clean in this battle in the light of the vision and wisdom that was Mahatma Gandhi's and the courage that is Jawaharlal's.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY THE HON'BLE B. G. KHER, CHIEF MINISTER OF BOMBAY

[28th October 1949]

Mr Chairman and Friends,

I deem it a very great privilege to be asked to inaugurate this Convention—the first Convention on Cultural Unity in India under the auspices of the T A Parekh Education Endowment. It is however a difficult privilege to inaugurate an assembly such as yours, selected because, in your own way you are all distinguished scholars, thinkers and intellectual leaders. After all what am I expected to do except to set you thinking? Well, if that has not been done already by the very fine speech which Mr Saiyidain has given, I am afraid, I cannot be expected to be more successful. And yet, as you have done me this honour I should like to say a few words which, I must confess at the outset, do not clothe my own thoughts only All that is worth while in what I may say—if you find anything worth while at all—has been imbibed and absorbed from minds of very great calibre who have been benefactors of mankind and whom I have had the opportunity to study throughout my life.

I am happily reminded on this occasion of our ancient days when in surroundings not very different, I suppose, from what you find yourselves in today our hoary ancestors discussed and hammered out the very noble truths that are now handed down to us and have become India's great heritage. It was an assembly called Upanishad where they sat near each other and exchanged ideas on a footing of equality unmindful of the struggle and the sacrifice of this wicked world or this good world according to the mood in which you happen to judge it. Possibly Janaka was there and he was a monarch. Another sage might be there, who was an absolute pauper who had no meal in the morning and who came

manship, of our capacity for disciplined and co-operative effort, against which our public leaders have been raising their voice of protest repeatedly. I am not naive enough to believe that all these things, which have also their socio-economic roots, can be cured only through educative influences. But I have no doubt either that even the most perfect socio-economic system—and what a distant prospect that is! —cannot possibly change, by itself, the hearts and minds of the people and that it is necessary to supplement it by a conscious educational effort wedded to these ends. I am not at all sure that our educationists and educational institutions have seriously concerned themselves with this problem. They have been preoccupied far too much with examinations, syllabuses, text books and the study of specialized branches of knowledge to be able to give the students either a broad and coherent view of the world and their place in it or a sensitiveness to questions of values, attitudes and standards. I am amazed at the way our students often pass through colleges, intellectually unscathed, emotionally unquickened and without forming habits of hard work and integrity and critical thinking. Naturally therefore, in later life they fall easy victims to slackness, inefficiency and glib propoganda. It is this psychological state of negation against which we have to struggle. I would venture to suggest to you that all the recent political distortions in our national life and emergence of many parties with their ideology of separatism, their technique of exploiting differences, their narrow revivalist and intolerant outlook are not merely political facts, they are the moral and psychological symptoms of a deep-rooted disease. And what appears to the superficial observer as a pull for power amongst different individuals or groups is also, at a deeper level, a pull for power between competing ideologies and values of life. As educators, we are part of this great fight between reason, decency tolerance and humanism on the one hand, and intolerance, illiberalism, obscurantism and blind revivalism on the other. May it be given to us to fight hard and fight clean in this battle in the light of the vision and wisdom that was Mahatma Gandhi's and the courage that is Jawaharlal's.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY THE HON'BLE B. G. KHER, CHIEF MINISTER OF BOMBAY

[26th October 1949]

Mr Chairman and Friends,

I deem it a very great privilege to be asked to inaugurate this Convention—the first Convention on Cultural Unity in India under the auspices of the T A. Parekh Education Endowment. It is however a difficult privilege to inaugurate an assembly such as yours, selected because, in your own way you are all distinguished scholars, thinkers and intellectual leaders. After all what am I expected to do except to set you thinking? Well, if that has not been done already by the very fine speech which Mr Saiyidain has given, I am afraid, I cannot be expected to be more successful. And yet, as you have done me this honour I should like to say a few words which, I must confess at the outset, do not clothe my own thoughts only All that is worth while in what I may say—if you find anything worth while at all—has been imbibed and absorbed from minds of very great calibre who have been benefactors of mankind and whom I have had the opportunity to study throughout my life.

I am happily reminded on this occasion of our ancient days when in surroundings not very different, I suppose, from what you find yourselves in today our hoary ancestors discussed and hammered out the very noble truths that are now handed down to us and have become India's great heritage. It was an assembly called Upanishad where 'they sat near each other' and exchanged ideas on a footing of equality unmindful of the struggle and the sacrifice of this wicked world or this good world according to the mood in which you happen to judge it. Possibly Janaka was there and he was a monarch. Another sage might be there who was an absolute pauper who had no meal in the morning and who

because he wanted something to live on and hoped to get a few cows and an acre of land from King Janaka. Yet that great monarch sat at his feet and tried to learn and find out the great truths—great truths which a life-time of hard work had not enabled him to understand. I am very glad that this hall, which, I am told, used to be the ball room of the old Government House, is now going to be put to this use, which, you will all agree is not, at any rate less useful than a ball.

I am told that the object of this Convention is to help the development of culture on sound lines and to eradicate unhealthy and fissiparous tendencies which are manifesting themselves in our national life and references to which have been made by those who have spoken before me. Mr Parekh had made for educational and cultural purposes, a generous endowment of which the object and ideals are described *inter alia* as follows

"The human being, perhaps the most blessed creation of God has a clear duty to his kind Creator and every thoughtful person has an obligation or duty to do something that would bring happiness to mankind Many evils brought about by the war and the conditions resulting therefrom have made man even more selfish, more narrow-minded, poorer in outlook besides making him suspicious of everything that goes on around him and therefore highly self preserving. How much one longs to be free from such an atmosphere!"

One word that struck me in this statement of objectives is the word 'perhaps Why 'perhaps'? Certainly the human being is the most blessed creation of God and every thoughtful person has a duty to his kind Creator—the duty to do something which will bring happiness to mankind. You will agree that the objective is noble and it is a sign of the times that, after the great crisis through which the world has passed we see a number of organizations trying to initiate activities intended to bring peace and happiness to humanity to abolish war and conflicts, and so to reconstruct society as to eliminate fear want, sickness, ignorance and misery from our midst. The United Nations Organization is the biggest of such organizations. I am very glad that Mr Parekh has made it possible for

all of you to come together to add your contribution to this noble task.

This is a cultural convention. Now I have often noticed that this word 'culture' does not mean the same thing to everybody. Some confuse it with the ability to speak several languages so well that you are not even able to know which is the mother tongue of the speaker! Some associate it with outward and superficial behaviour, others again associate it with general polish, manners and luxury. Yet we all know that a man may possess all these things and be far from being a cultured man. Culture in a way is a very complex idea. Before you, who are scholars and professors—I see at least a dozen faces before me who can define almost anything!—I confess it is very difficult to define culture satisfactorily. It has certainly something to do with languages and literature, with religion, with the educational system, with dress, with music, with philosophy. It signifies the cultivation of a certain way of life the effects of which as a whole constitute culture. We call it *Sanskriti*. *Kriti* i.e. action is the basis of this culture. The ultimate aim of such cultivation should be the ability to develop our faculties so that we may realize our identity and oneness with the rest of the creation—realize, in Landau's words, that "Love, Awareness and Selflessness,—which have a familiar resemblance with our three ancient words, *Bhakti*, *Dharma* and *Vairagya*—are identical, or at least they represent different manifestations of the same state of being.

It should be clear from all this that Culture is concerned essentially with one's conduct and being, with deep human relations, not with superficial attainments. If, therefore this association wishes to give a lead on this subject, we must find out the motives and mainsprings of human conduct and human relationship. If we want to achieve cultural unity in India, which is the avowed object of this cultural convention, we must try and understand what India stands for, how far the life and conduct of our people are calculated to realize what we stand for and what should be done to attune the conduct of our people to the desired objective.

Well, I do not envy your task. I am glad I won't have to share the credit or blame, whatever it is, for your !

But, you must realize that if you give a clear-cut answer to guide us, you will be the benefactors not only of India but of the world. Future generations will remember you with gratitude And, as Mr Saiyidain has said, it is the duty of every one of us to bring our best efforts to bear upon the solution of these problems, so that we may all travel at least a little distance towards the goal we have in view The whole history past and present, of India shows that it is her genius to live and let live, to attain her ends by peaceful evolution. In her eyes, spiritual well being has been more valuable than material prosperity so that she never sent armies for conquests but spread her gospel through scholars and philosophers. There have been wars in India s history made by foreign hordes who attacked and overran India, but she never made wars of conquest. Her ancient sages taught that the whole universe was permeated by the universal soul, that the soul was one and identical at all times, in all ages and in all countries; that distinctions and differences were illusory and superficial and love, renunciation and sufferings were the law of life. Happiness does not consist in the accumulation of ephemeral and perishable possessions but in the observance of *Dharma*—the right conduct—which is the permanent, immutable rule of the universe. It is only right conduct that matters—not the everchanging succession of pleasures and pain, misery or happiness.

Our sages taught us that while *Dharma* is eternal, happiness and misery are transient. धर्मो नित्यः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये। They exhorted us

न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभात्। धर्मं त्यजेत् जीवितस्यापि हेतोः॥

One should not abandon one s *Dharma* or right conduct for achieving pleasures or happiness or out of fear or out of greed, one should not abandon *Dharma* even if death is the consequence. This was the ideal, the basic principle on which the culture of India s people was moulded in the past. If we hope to construct the future society we cannot ignore the course of history While I do not advocate undue glorification of the past, I see in history a purpose and a continuity If our future work is going to be of a type which will endure you have got to take into account the genius of the

people. Now what did these people teach us? They discovered that the way to happiness did not lie in the direction of increasing and satiating wants. While it is indisputable that in order to live man must have bread, it is his nature and glory that he does not live by bread alone. If anyone seeks to make humanity happy by increasing ever more the supply of all these things which we need for our physical well-being, well, the lesson of India's history teaches us that he is destined to court disaster and failure. "However much human ingenuity may increase the treasures which nature provides for the satisfaction of human needs, they can never be sufficient to satisfy all human wants, for man unlike other creatures is gifted and cursed with an imagination which extends his aptitudes beyond the requirements of subsistence." In a word, you can never attain happiness by satisfying desires. You must learn to control them.

It has been said that human society will never escape the problem of the equitable distribution of the physical and cultural goods which provide for the preservation and fulfilment of human life. The way to happiness, therefore, lies in the direction of learning to control, not to satiate desire. It had been discovered long ago that social justice is the foundation of peace and happiness. How is it to be secured? Fortunately among many human desires there is one unique desire, the desire to do right. This is the root of the passion for social justice which animates the good man in any society. This passion has always a certain religious element in it which leavens the idea of justice with the ideal of love. Love and tolerance are therefore, the basis on which social well-being must rest.

Many people fired by the noble idea of bringing into existence an equilitarian society have propounded social systems which must receive the earnest consideration of people who are seekers after truth and not committed to this or that type. They feel that justice and equality can only be established by the destruction of power. It is power which makes for inequalities and for social injustice and power and privilege in modern society are associated with private property. Equality and justice they believe will be established only

through socialisation of the means of production, i. e. through the destruction of private property

While it must be admited that society must move towards the national goal of social justice we cannot ignore its economic foundations. Experiments have also taught us that this goal cannot be reached by violent means. A solution has been made by both the previous speakers. Mahatma Gandhi had a certain philosophy a certain way of life and a certain view of life which he placed before us clearly It may be a matter for argument whether all violence is intrinsically evil and all non-violence is intrinsically good. But it may safely be asserted that even if it were possible to establish an equilitarian society by violence, it will never be possible to maintain such a society without the constant use of more and more violence which will inevitably result in an intolerable dictatorship. It will also give rise to social injustice which would be worse than what was sought to be removed. We can only move towards the goal of social justice by gradual and evolutionary processes in which a certain amount of inevitable coercion would be necessary but a great deal more of educational factors will have to operate. Coercion by itself is not able to achieve much. The state can enforce legality upon people by force but not morality The moral sense can only be developed by education, discipline and will-power It is given to us *only to apply the light of reason and search and scrutinize* every remedy that is suggested in the light of the past experience of humanity and of our own capacity to reach the truth, benefitting by the progress of science and the modern methods for the discovery of truth.

More than science or art or religious rites, moral beauty is the basis of civilization and culture. The moral sense and moral judgment need not necessarily be associated with great intelligence to enable man to achieve happiness. "The development of the moral sense and judgment must be the supreme goal of education, because they give equilibrium to the individual. They make him a solid
social edifice." In the case of those wh
tudes of industrial civilization in this
put intelligence first or moral

that "the happiest and most useful men consist of a well-integrated whole of intellectual, moral and organic activities. The quality of these activities and also their equilibrium gives to such a type its superiority over the others." The development of complete human beings must be the aim of our efforts. "The malady of our times is that the moral sense is almost completely ignored by modern society Robbers enjoy prosperity in peace. The rich man has every right. Politicians protect him, judges respect him." These are harsh words but I am only quoting from a man who has correctly diagnosed the disease from which society suffers. All this must be changed. Our values must undergo a great transformation. We can only think of remedies if we correctly define our objectives. In the words of a great thinker "We must aim at culture without conflict; machines without enslaving factories, science without the worship of matter This would restore to man his intelligence his moral sense his variety and lead him to the summit of his development." This is the high purpose by which we must be animated. This will teach us the beauty of sacrifice. Our educational system must be so devised as to inculcate the necessary discipline in each stage of life—childhood, middle age and old age. Our ultimate purpose must be the development of the human personality This high and noble goal cannot be achieved by short cuts. We must study the past in order to derive lessons for the future and if we know what is wrong with our society we can try to find the remedy in this Convention.

I see that Mr Saiyidain has posed for you a formidable list of problems It is true that we are suffering from all these evils—individual and communal selfishness, regionalism, nepotism, corruption etc. But these are really only the symptoms. I do not pretend to be able to prescribe a remedy for these The object of a convention such as the one in which we have met, is to think collectively and reach conclusions by discussion and argument which can then be given shape of concrete propositions. These propositions will then be implemented by common consent. As I have said, it is only through arduous thought, self-discipline and self-control that we will be able to achieve what we have set ourselves to

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More than science or art or religious rites, moral beauty is the basis of civilization and culture The moral sense and moral judgment need not necessarily be associated with great intelligence to enable man to achieve happiness. "The development of the moral sense and judgment must be the supreme goal of education, because they give equilibrium to the individual. They make him a solid building-stone of the social edifice" In the case of those who constitute the multitudes of industrial civilization in this machine age would you put intelligence first or moral sense first? It has been said

The object of this Convention is to bring together people who have devoted some thought to these problems. You are professors of universities, chancellors and vice-chancellors, scholars and academic workers. You will be able to find a solution of this vital problem with all the knowledge that you have gathered laboriously during these years and I assure you that nothing but good will come out of this. The corruption and other evils which are haunting us are, I have no doubt, a passing phase which we will succeed in curing if we make the right choice. We are always a little puzzled when there is a mental conflict and we do not know which is the right way. If the solution that was propounded by Mahatma Gandhi—the age-old solution of suffering and sacrifice, of caring more for the good of other people than of your own, of realizing that you can be happy if you make others happy—is the right solution, then our reconstruction of a new society will be of one type. If, on the other hand, we do not think so, and if we believe, for example in force and violence and in the doctrine of the super-man, obviously our solution will be different. You must think along these lines and the times are such that they challenge you to think. They call upon each one of you to take decisions because on each one of you depends the future of the world. Whether we throw our lot on this side or that, will determine what shape the future is going to take. I am very happy that we have had people in the past who met the challenge, who preferred death to dishonour death to giving up their principles. These challenges must be accepted by you today and you should be able to crystallize all that has been thought and said and done by these great people so that we may understand their philosophy and their scheme of social reconstruction. I will not tire you by attempting to go into the numerous problems that figure on your agenda. I have only indicated the direction in which I have sought their solution for myself—the direction our thoughts must take in order to decide the right values on which human conduct will have to be based if we aspire for that cultural unity which is the object of your conference.

The fact that we are discontented is a promise that we will improve. We must change our ideals from material ends

quests, wealth and power to the spiritual values of life. We will be able to transform this machine age and lay the founda tion of culture and a contented society provided we are able to take the right decision Then only will our caravan march on. Millions and millions of people have done it before us. We can do it also. We must learn to live and let live It is a great work and it is a noble world that we have come into some of the ways and means by which that task can be accom- It is a glorious task that is before us. I am sure that this con- vention of scholars and educational workers will show us plished.

(Principal Vyas moved a vote of thanks to the Premier and the delegates.)

DISCUSSIONS AT THE CONVENTION

I

LEADING SPEECH DELIVERED EXTEMPORE BY THE HON'BLE P N MATHUR

Subject Need For a Broad Outlook

[25th October 1949]

Recorder Dr L Tope

Mr President and Friends

It is a great honour to me to get this opportunity to speak to this august audience We have assembled here to discuss and to deliberate with a view that our discussions and deliberations would provide us with a background for action. So there is nothing wrong if this conference or convention confines to discussions only I think we are here to initiate certain thought currents that would lead to correct direction in the field of action and I think there cannot be any disagreement about this—that in our country particularly and in the world as a whole at the present moment there is the great necessity for right thinking. We have heard speeches in the morning and we have attempted to put in precise form the issue before us. We all know that we are living in a world of conflicts. There are conflicts in every walk of life on the political plane, on the economic plane on the social plane and also on the international as well as the national plane We all know that modern civilization is an advanced civilization and has to its credit certain achievements. But we are also conscious of the fact that there is something that is lacking and if these many sided conflicts that face us or rather the whole humanity are not resolved and if we are not in a position to find out a solution for these conflicts, there is every danger that our

civilization may come to an end. We hear this danger-signal every day. So, the problem before us is that we are amidst conflicts of all kinds.

Now these conflicts naturally arise on account of the variety that exists in the universe. So long as there are different countries, there are different ideologies, different thinkers; and I may hazard that so long as there are different individuals, differences will continue to exist. The question is: How are we going to face these differences? Are we going to harmonize them, or are we going to accentuate them by taking an aggressive attitude and letting the other man's point of view be suppressed by our own? That is to say are we going to assimilate and unify the differences and thus promote unity in diversity or are we just going to divide ourselves and thus destroy all that we have built so far? That is in fact the precise issue that faces us, our country as well as the whole world.

You know that so long as India was not free, there was at least one thing that brought us all together, most of us at least. There was one common objective before our country that could unify our efforts, and create unity in our outlook; and that common objective was our urge for political freedom. Now we have achieved political freedom and we are out to build a new India. This is the time when all our efforts should be coalesced, when all of us should stand and pull together. But to our great distress we find that that unifying force is absent today. We seem to be working at cross purposes. Now this is not what it should be. Of course none of us suggested that there should be a mechanical uniformity in our country or in the world. We are not here to suppress the differences in view-points or differences in outlook. And yet, we feel that there is the necessity for something common in our outlook, something if we may say so that will provide us with a common background for our various attempts. There should be something that will provide unity in the midst of the variety that is bound to exist. Now what can that unifying thing be? We have said that we are here to promote cultural unity. I would like to say that it is not only the question of unity amidst different cultures. It is a question of unity in

every aspect of life in spite of the fact that in all these various aspects there might and there would exist differences also So we are here so far as I have been able to understand, to evolve some common outlook, some common approach towards the problems of life. What is that common approach that this Convention can evolve and put before this country and also before the world ? That is the problem as I view it.

There are said to be two different approaches to life. One of them is called the materialistic approach and the other is called the spiritualistic approach. It is said that the heritage of this country is a spiritual heritage and we should develop an outlook that is spiritual and moral. We so often say that the modern and the western world has developed a materialistic outlook towards life; and if the modern civilization and modern science are to be put in their right places, it is necessary that we give up materialism and recognize the significance and importance of spiritualism. Only then could the lack of equilibrium that we find in the world today be brought to order only then would equilibrium be restored in all the walks of life That is how we so often hear our scholars and leaders describing the problem. I shall, however make one humble submission to you regarding this distinction between the materialistic and the spiritualistic approaches. By making such a distinction, we make an implication that there is nothing common between the two approaches. Either you choose the materialist s approach to live or the spiritualist s approach and the two are entirely different. That is the implication which emerges on making the sort of distinction that I have just given to you. I think, however that there is some common ground between the two. What is after all the so-called materialistic approach ? According to this approach it is said that the end of life lies in the fulfilment of the desires of this world. If that is the approach towards life you say that it is the materialist's approach. The spiritualist s approach we may define as that approach which recognizes the ultimate end of life not in the pleasures and achievements of this world. It is something beyond it. Now I wish to make this submission that whether you aim at material progress or at spiritual achievement, there is bound to be at least one

common background, and that common background is a certain standard of conduct or propriety, or you may call it the moral background. I deliberately make here a distinction between the moral and the spiritual. I do not believe that any nation, any people can progress even materially if the so-called material civilization does not possess a moral basis. And of course there can be no question of spiritual achievement without a moral basis. In fact, it is only after morality that spiritualism comes. What, therefore, I wish to say is this that it is very necessary for us all to evolve a certain approach to life before we enjoy not only what we call the spiritual progress, but also the material progress. For both of them a common background is necessary

Gentlemen, we find today that the outlook towards life is not correct. I will give you a very familiar example. When you go to the market, the teacher of economics tells you that the economic principle is to sell at the highest price and to purchase at the lowest price When you go to politics, you think that perhaps the most successful politician is one who has achieved his objective for the time being through whatever means he found convenient to use. We remember of course, at this juncture, the great and revolutionary lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught us about the purity of means. But Mahatma Gandhi was an exception rather than the rule. Similarly when we talk of religion or spiritualism we think that it is confined only to the temples mosques and churches. I will relate to you a very small and insignificant incident which I came across but which had a great lesson for me Once I was standing by the side of a temple and was watching an old lady who was higgling with another lady who was selling flowers. The first lady was going to the temple and she wanted to purchase a garland in order to offer it to the deity The lady was going for a religious purpose and yet was not prepared to pay a reasonable price I wondered What does it signify ? Is this lady behaving spiritually ? I think the lady's behaviour has a certain significance It shows that it is the diffused outlook towards life which is responsible for this sort of behaviour She was perhaps thinking that as she was purchasing a garland, to purchase it as cheap as possible was her duty And yet she considered herself a reli-

gious person who used to go to the temple to offer garlands. Now it is this distintegrated outlook towards life with different standards of conduct for different occasions and spheres in life which is at the root of our present difficulties so far as I understand it. If we want this modern civilization to be preserved and also to be advanced, if we want the new India that is in the making to be built on sound lines, the one thing that we educators, teachers and thinkers have to do is to somehow evolve and then propagate this integrated outlook towards life. But what is this integrated outlook towards life? What are its ingredients? I would describe them briefly

The first principle of this integrated outlook towards life should be faith in democracy You know democracy is a great principle which is being applauded everywhere. Even those who oppose it in practice at least profess it in theory Such is the charm of democracy I also say that one ingredient of an integrated outlook towards life should be faith in democracy I must explain myself what I mean by this faith in democracy I mean, faith in the dignity status, and equality of man. We do not make any difference between the dignity of one man and another That is our attitude and that is our approach. I do not thereby mean that all men are equally wise or are equal in capacity There are qualitative differences that exist between man and man. But our attitude and our article of faith is that the interest of one man is as important as the interest of another man, whatever may be his status, whatever may be his capacity This is one essential and basic feature of democracy Secondly if democracy is the underlying principle of our outlook on life, that outlook is bound to be a human outlook. This is then the second ingredient that I would like to mention. If you put the same thing objectively it may also be called a scientific outlook towards life This would be the third ingredient. As scientists we should accept facts as they come without any prejudice We should value facts as they stand. Of course I remember the addage that statistics and facts can be made to prove anything But, that is an example of the ingenuity of man rather than the fault of facts and statistics. We should, therefore learn to look scientifically at the problems of life develop objectivity in our approach towards

life. Now if you put the same thing subjectively you would call it a detached outlook towards life. Hence non-attachment would be another ingredient of an integrated outlook on life. I may explain this a little. Many of our difficulties arise because what we call reason is not the pure reason. It is reason as we see it through a coloured glass. To develop pure reason, a detached outlook on life is necessary It is here that the question of the purity of the individual gets mingled up with the action that the individual takes either as an individual or as a member of the collective group. Our culture and our philosophy have always emphasized that one must look to self-development, one must look to one s own internal qualities rather than to the outside. In this connection I may refer here to another example of a disintegrated outlook on life which we should avoid. The example is illustrated in the principle that public life is one thing and private life another You can be a very intelligent man, you can be a very good teacher you can be a very great thinker but these things have nothing to do with the type of life you lead and what actually you are in action. This sort of diffused outlook, I say is a wrong outlook towards life. Because if you are not a man who has developed a detached attitude towards problems it is impossible for you to look at these problems objectively You know that a scientist is one who brings no personal prejudices to the material that he is supplied with for his experiments. Now you as a social scientist are dealing with human material. You are making observations about men who themselves possess volitional power and there is action and re-action between you as the observer and others as the observed. Such is the peculiarity of social sciences. If you, therefore want to attain objectivity in the field of social sciences, it is a very essential condition that you cross all subjectivism, you cross that stage of prejudices and predilections. Now that can be done by self purification only Hence, what you say and what you reason, do get intermingled with how you act and live Therefore I say that subjectively this integrated outlook on life would be a detached outlook which has been propounded in the Bhagavat Geeta also. Finally this integrated outlook would be the dynamic outlook too in other words a progressive outlook.

We therefore want that whatever may be our differences, we develop such an integrated outlook towards life and that all persons living in the world, leastwise in India, should profess and practise that outlook. Because only then in spite of our differences in the varied fields of life, viz, religion, language, province social and political ideology we shall be able to stand together at least on this common platform of humanism and democracy And unless we develop this trait almost as a national temperament, I would like to say it would not be possible for us to develop a common and contented nationhood—a nationhood that would contribute something towards world progress and world peace. That the development of an integrated outlook on life based on moral and democratic values is the first need of our times is seldom recognized.

Now taking the example of India, we find that at present there are many forces that are working against this correct outlook towards life. What these forces are we all know They have been named in the pamphlet that was issued and circulated by the Organizing Committee. They are religious bigotry communal and sectarian narrowism, perverted conception of culture and civilization and the like. But as we are meeting here on a cultural platform, let me say something about this culture business. Of course, I am not so foolish as to attempt a definition of culture which is a complex category of thought. But still I will place before you some view points which I have in mind. The word culture is an all embracing word which includes all aspects of man's life and excludes perhaps nothing beginning from philosophy and religion and ending with superficial drawing-room manners and polish. But it would not be wrong to say that essentially and basically culture should mean the totality of one's outlook towards life which will leave its impression on everything and anything that one comes across in thought, in word and in action. Of this culture so far we have been accustomed to talk in the context of different peoples and nations, religions and sects and communities and castes We talk of the culture of the East and of the West of the Indian culture and the Chinese culture and the Japanese culture and so on so forth. No, we do not stop at that. We talk of the Hindu culture and the Muslim culture and the Christian culture We even go

to the length of talking of a Maharashtrian culture, a Gujarati culture, a Bengali culture and a Rajasthani culture. Now all this is well and good, but to an extent and in a way only Because, more important and real than this partial and exclu sive view of culture is an over-all and inclusive view of cul ture And it is this over-all view that needs proper emphasis today in a world of strife and conflict.

I think that primarily and fundamentally there are only two dividing lines so far as the universe is concerned. One is the dividing line of time and the other is that of space In olden times we were not near to one another Our lives were different in different countries on account of the difference in geography and national environments. These differences of space as we may call them have also played an important part in the development of culture and civilization. But side by side with space, time has also played its part. Thus we have ancient culture medieval culture and modern culture differentiated on the vertical basis of time as distinguished from the horizontal basis of space. But you know that today we are living in a world where distance is almost annihilated. What happens in one country has its immediate repercussions in another country Thus differences of space are fast losing their former significance in all walks of life including the cultural. Today is the time when we can develop one common culture for the whole humanity—embracing the whole universe and transcending the different cultures which would, however continue to exist to enrich the common culture by their variety rather than to weaken it by their anta gonism and opposition. Therefore the distinctions of culture based on geography or based on one country and another are largely out of place today Anyone who speaks today in terms of the Eastern culture and the Western culture the Indian culture and the American culture or the Japanese culture and the Chinese culture not as so many integral links of a common culture but as separate entities unconnected and uncoordinated, is I think, speaking more in terms of the past than in those of the present and much less of the future And when you talk of the Hindu culture or the Muslim culture I think you are misusing the word [illegible] Culture cannot be a hireling to [illegible] or to any

particular language or even to any particular country. Today we are here to develop a common world culture, a democratic and human culture which is dynamic, rather than static and which is prepared to accept everything new from all quarters provided it is useful, and at the same time a culture which is prepared to preserve everything that is old but useful. It is this synthetic outlook towards culture that we have to develop. Any other view of culture that is exclusive partial and narrow we must reject and disown. To the development of an integrated outlook towards life such exclusivism is an obstacle and an hindrance that must be removed. In this connection I would place before you one more point for your consideration.

We are all for democracy and everyone knows that we have been taught that the party system is essential for democracy. I admit that in a sense it is so. But sometimes I think, that the party system has also a danger point for democracy. After all what is democracy a sound and genuine democracy? A sound democracy would flourish when you get the proper environment and the opportunity to think scientifically and without any prejudice and without any pre-conceived notions. This sort of objective and scientific thinking is the first thing without which it is not possible for us to frame our own instructed and independent judgment about problems. Every individual should get this opportunity. It is primarily the business of educational institutions to provide this environment. But what do parties do in practice? I am afraid that because they have before them the objective of gaining power they distort facts, they present them as suits their purpose and, therefore to that extent they fail to contribute to that correct and scientific thinking which is so essential for democracy. I think it is a common weakness and also a human weakness that when we think in groups we are less liable to correction than when we think individually. If you sit in a room all alone and indulge in self-examination and observation, my experience is that you will at times think more impartially than when you would sit with people of the same mind as you are. It is difficult to criticize our selves in a group. This aspect of the party system is, there-

fore, not helpful to the development of a genuine and democracy I will give you an extreme example. know that in America party labels go by heredity. If; father is a democrat, you become a democrat, if your is a republican, you become a republican. And so, I say this party system also in one way creates an obstruction' development of that outlook which, we want, should be in order to solve and harmonize the various conflicts when I say so do not misunderstand me. I am not an abolition of the party system or pleading for a system. If parties are, as I have just told you, in a very halpful to the development of true democracy the very antithesis of democracy Therefore, we always prefer parties to the Party I have also no made substitute to offer to you for the party system I meant was that even the party system has a for democracy and we should be aware of it and minim'

I have spoken to you of the various obstacles in the way of evolving an integrated and human out There are many other obstacles also; but I would not upon them. Our real problem is to devise ways and of overcoming these obstacles. In this connection I may p out that the most effective and potential machinery for purpose is education. So, we have to organize our tional institutions in such a way that they inculcate in young boys and girls a certain outlook towards life, an grated outlook, as I have repeatedly said, based on a democracy in human and moral values, in a scientific dynamic approach to life as a whole. And if all our tional institutions understand this problem correctly concentrate primarily upon it, then it will be possible us to produce young men and women who would be in taking this country and through it the wor that is the path of progress and happiness. A of education, as you know is precisely teachers. I must emphasize that it is not syllabus, it is not the problem of marily it is the problem of good tea powered and influenced by any kind

the power of money it may be the power of Government, or it may even be the power of public opinion. Teachers must rise above *arthasatta*, *rajasatta* and *lokasatta*. A true teacher is one who responds to no fear or favour no threats or temptations but only to his inner conscience. Such teachers we want. We have to create facilities for them. So often the question comes to our mind, quite often it is said that if you want such teachers, give them more pay I do not say that they should not be paid reasonably It is the duty of society and the State to honour their teachers and provide them with all necessary facilities. But I say to the teachers: Look here, a revolutionary has to face all kinds of ordeals for the principle that he advocates and he does not fight for his faith and his principles on the precedent condition that people should give him honour and status and money if not today at least tomorrow Very often, the pioneer does not get these things. The same situation our teachers should also face. Because society does not give him honour or a high salary as it gives, say to a district collector or legislator a teacher can have no valid reason to justify or explain his not doing his duty to the best of his capacity and power He has to perform his duties in spite of their going without proper recognition by society And, therefore I emphatically say that a teacher if he is really a teacher has not the slightest justification to think otherwise. If he permits himself to do so then he is not a teacher in the real sense of the term. And I wish, somehow it is made possible for us teachers and educators to think like this. Our educational institutions should understand this, the real, central problem facing us. It is only then that it may be possible for us to find some way out of our present disequilibrium. In the end I cannot but reiterate that it is on our success in this respect of evolving an integrated democratic, human, scientific, detached and dynamic outlook towards life that depends the peace, prosperity and happiness of not only the Indian nation but the whole humanity of which India is after all a part, though a very significant and important part

SALIENT FEATURES OF SHRI MATHUR'S SPEECH

(1) The aim of the Convention is to discuss and deliberate upon the ways and means in order to set into motion thought-currents, which may help us to activize.

(2) The need of the hour is right thinking with a view to understanding the nature of conflicts on all planes of human activity. We are living in a world of conflicts and conflicting ideologies. Modern civilization has made rapid advancement; but its achievements are the conflicts, not the solutions. If no solution is found out for removing conflicts, then the world has to suffer.

(3) Conflicts are due to a variety of causes—differences in ideologies, values and patterns of culture. This Convention has to face the problems of conflicts of ideologies, with a view to harmonizing the conflicting viewpoints or solving them on the basis of the principle of unification or division. This method of approach will bring peace to the world and India.

(4) India's struggle for freedom has come to an end. Now a new India is taking shape. New energies have to be coalesced, but the unifying force is absent. In the building up of New India the differences of outlook should find a place in the solution of problems. Out of the these differences a common outlook has to evolve. This will lead to the unity in diversity which provides scope for the future development of the country on sound lines. This Convention has to look into this question of the unity in diversity and suggest ways and means for achieving it.

(5) There are two approaches of tackling cultural problems (i) the materialistic approach, (ii) the spiritualistic approach. The East represents the spiritualistic outlook while the West stands for the materialistic outlook. To view these standpoints as distinct and differentiative in their forms and contents is to create cultural disequilibrium. Thus, it is in the fitness of things to strike a balance in effecting cultural equilibrium, as there is much common ground between the two viewpoints. The end of life is its fulfilment in all its

materialistic and spiritualistic aspects. The materialistic conception is not a-moral—but moral. Hence morality and spirituality should go hand in hand in the remaking of civilization. This will result in evolving an approach of life based on the common background of morality and spirituality In other words, this would be an integrated outlook towards life. New India is in need of such an outlook.

(6) What does an integrated outlook towards life consist of? It consists of faith and democracy Faith in the dignity and status of man is its primary principle. Faith nullifies the difference between man and man e.g. the interest of one man is as important as the interest of another man. If such faith in the dignity and status of man is maintained, then democracy is a living principle Thus faith and democracy will develop and cultivate the human outlook—an objective approach to life—or explicity expressed, a scientific outlook. In order to strengthen the idea of human outlook, the subjective approach has to go under India has always stood for the correction of the subjective outlook by emphasizing the importance of the inner culture or self-culture.

(7) The differences between public morality and individual morality can be neutralized in order to create a new society based upon faith and democracy

The Chairman asked the members to ventilate their views on the topic dealt by Shri Mathur

The following discussions took place

Shri Nikam

1. Whether the problem of culture has to be tackled from the world point of view or from the point of view of an individual is a question that needs scrutiny

2. What are those things which need elimination from absorption into cultural values and how to determine them?

3. The fundamental issue is the removal of the fear between nations. Unless this is done an integrated outlook towards life will not be feasible

Dr Sastry

1. The main problem is to find out ways and means for establishing cultural unity in India and not to think of the world as a cultural unit. The ideal of the common man should be there but the cultural unity of India is essential and foremost. What is wrong with the India of to-day is actually the question we should face. There are factors of regionalism, lingualism and other social factors that come in the way of our national unity Why is it that we Indians ceased all of a sudden, to think as members of one Nation?

Shri Atreya

1. This Convention is an epoch-making convention, called for solving cultural problems of this country

2. Need for formulating some basic principles of common culture.

3. India cannot afford to be cut away from the West or Western influences.

4. The harmonization of the Eastern and Western cultures is the need of the hour

5. Basic principles should form the basis for the declaration of a charter of cultural unity

These basic principles are —

(i) Indians are the inheritors of all the wisdom the world has inherited.

(ii) Democracy is based upon human equality and equal opportunities for all.

(iii) Culture is the cultivation and sublimation of human activities.

6. There is urgent need for the expansion of cultural activities, not to be restricted to one a country

7. Conflict between science and religion has to be removed.

Shri Shrimali

1. The development of integrated culture is doubtful.

2. The need for the classification of the concept of world

culture is urgently felt in order to have a clear picture of cultural patterns.

3. Each culture has its own characteristics.

4. While keeping the identity of each culture intact, it is suggested to find out ways and means for a common meeting ground for all cultures. It would be a sad affair if the diversity of cultures is neglected.

5. What can be achieved in the realm of culture can only be possible through a clear understanding and appreciation of different cultures leading to the harmonization of cultures.

Shri Gupta

1. The integrated way of life based on faith and democracy as advocated by Mr Mathur is of doubtful contention.

2. Democracy as conceived by Mr. Mathur is different from its Western prototype.

3. We have got to evolve units of culture based upon the principles of justice in which economic factors have to play their active part.

4. The right of the freedom of thought is a pre-requisite condition for a culturod life as well as for national up-building.

Dr Anand

1. India stands for universalism.

2. Cultural unity can only be conceived as differentiative pattern entities but not at variance with the unity of India.

3. The differentiative patterns are born of psychological factors. To destroy diversified patterns of culture is to stop the whole progress of the country

4 Hence the promotion of cultural unity through diversity

5. Culture in order to become a real living thing, should give common things to all.

6. The history of man has to be sifted from point, if the problem of culture is to be appraised.

7 Such an approach will lead to humanistic activities.

8. The coming-up of imperialism in the form of lingualism or regionalism is a sign of danger

Shri Wadia

1. Agreed with Shri Mathur's views to a certain extent.

2. Our trouble is that we are not honest with our ideas or with ourselves.

3. The idealism of the West should be appreciated.

4. We are suffering from the conflicts in the realm of thought and action due to our dishonest ways.

5. There is no real conflict between science and religion —Religion is no ism—there may be many religions but Religion is one—such an approach for truth is desirable.

6. For the teachers, something has to be done—the condition of teachers should be improved economically

Prof. N A. Nikam

The problem of culture may be put thus that it includes everything and that it excludes equally everything.

Whether we speak of civilization as integrated culture for the world or for the individual, it makes no difference, because, "States are not made of oak and rock, but grow out of the constitutions of men" and, on the other hand, what is good or what is bad in the individual flows in to the institutions making them good or bad. But, we must always, begin with the individual and the problem of making an integrated culture is the re-making of the individual.

In the re-making of the individual and the world we must keep two principles in mind the individual must have to exceed that kind of "justice" which is called "doing good to friends and evil to enemies" It is the prevalence of this conception in us and in our institutions which constitutes a danger to culture and threatens to ruin the state society and international morality

The task of the teacher therefore is to imbibe this truth first in himself and then to teach it to his pupils and by the

means in his power to spread it in society All "-isms" Racialism or Communalism etc.) are only variant expressions of this fundamentally wrong conception and attitude. This is one of the two causes which prevent the world from being one. The other is the Fear that is within us. Though armed with the mightiest of weapons the modern world seems unarmed, because, it is not armed against Fear So, the need of our times is a philosophy and culture which knows no fear either from "enemies" or from "friends" i. e. a culture which knows no "enemies" or "friends" This culture to my mind, is an "integrated" culture this, alone, shall preserve the freedom that we have either won, or help us to keep the freedom that has come to us as a gift.

II

POINTS FROM LEADING SPEECH

BY PROF A. R. WADIA

Subject Factors Making Against A National Outlook

[27th October 1949]

Recorder Prof. R. P Patwardhan

There are three factors making against a national out look

(1) Communalism — At one time Hindu Muslim tension was the problem — this no longer exists. Islam is a *universal religion but in India it became communal because* of the environment in India, because Hinduism is communal. The present problem is How far is this communalism in Hinduism going to be got rid of—how far caste Public Enemy No I, is going to be exorcised.

Then there is the problem of the Sikhs. The Sikhs have shown themselves to be nearer to Hindus than to Muslims. With a little controlling of martial ardour they will be good Indians.

As regards the Harijan problem, this also is not very acute. The Harijans have shown their loyalty to Hinduism and it is for the Hindus now to show that they appreciate this loyalty

(2) The Linguistic Problem—Psychology and History are *on the side of Regional Languages. Yet the future of* India demands that the Regional Languages shall not dominate. Regional Languages should be the media of instruction in Primary and Secondary schools, but they must not go further—in the Universities they should be encouraged but should not be the media of instruction. English has a unifying influence however sooner or later it will have to cease to be the medium of instruction in the Universities. Hindi

will be the national language and take the place which English has so far held. But it is desirable that the introduction of Hindi as the national language should not be preached by Hindi-speaking people themselves. It is not popular in the South, but the South Indians are intelligent and will master it in course of time. Even when Hindi becomes the national language English must not be neglected. It is a language of international importance and is necessary for maintaining our contacts with the outside world.

(3) Provincialism or Regionalism—This is not a creation of the British, but an inheritance from our history

Abolition of Provincial Governments—Mr Manu Subedar's idea—is the best solution. Vested interests, however are against its adoption. A second best solution would be making education a Central subject if not in all stages, at least in the University stage. This necessitates that at least in the post-graduate stage there should be a common medium of instruction.

Interchange of students from one province to another would be another method of overcoming Regionalism. Yet another way is the inculcation of national ideas in all stages of education. Lastly there should be emphasis on the study of history especially the history of Culture.

The following discussion took place

Dr R. P. Paranjpye

He observed that he agreed with most of what Prof. Wadia had said. As regards the medium of instruction in Universities, however he felt that the difficulty of the question had been rather exaggerated. He himself did not know French well and he knew German even less well than French, but when he attended some lectures in Paris and Germany on mathematical subjects, he experienced no difficulty in following them. He would prefer retaining English as the medium at the post-graduate stage. In any case the importance of English should not be minimized. Mr Srinivasa Sastri speaking in an international gathering in English could make a far greater impression than if he had spoken in Hindi and then his speech had been translated into English or French.

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Some attempts had been made at coining technical terminology in the regional languages. As regards these, he would say that learning a science subject in a regional language with such coined terminology will double the burden on the student because the student would first have to learn this terminology and then to know also the English terminology because for supplementary reading he would necessarily have to turn to books in English, as there are no books on scientific subjects in the regional languages. Technical words in English and French are almost the same. The Germans coined new words but their pre-eminence in science was so great that others had to learn German to read their books. It would be very long before Indian languages attained such a position.

Shri Sharma

The Hindu-Muslim problem has not been solved, but rather aggravated after Partition. The differences between *Hindus and Muslims have not been resolved by partition. It* is humanly impossible that the Muslims who have remained in India should have changed overnight. More attention needs to be given to this problem. We should aim at creat ing conditions for real harmony

Prof. Gupta

The preceding speaker should not have spoken in the way he did. There were a good many Muslims even before partition who had a nationalistic outlook. Pakistan has come into being not because of them but in spite of them. It was wrong to doubt the loyalty of Muslims as a whole.

Sectarian and Communal educational institutions are a danger So also organizations parading under the name of cultural organizations which were essentially anti-national and fascist in outlook.

India must be a Federation. University education, how ever may be made a concurrent subject.

Post-graduate teaching at least must be in the national language because his experience in the U P showed that students who had learnt upto the Intermediate in Hindi found

it difficult to follow lectures in English when they came to the B.A.

Prof. B. L. Atreya

Communalism is dead, caste is dead, but what threatens national unity now is party government. Differences of party have been the ruination of China.

As regards the language problem, there is really no danger in linguistic differences. The fear that if regional languages were adopted as media of instruction there would be as many technical terminologies as regional languages is groundless, as the various regional languages, being nearly allied, will have the same or similar technical terms.

Prof. Bagchi

He objected to the introduction of the national language as the medium of instruction even in the University stage. A common medium of instruction is not necessary for national unity. Our nationality too need not be of the same type as, say that of England. India is a land of many nations, which must be allowed to develop, each according to its own genius. There is no objection, too, to each language having its own technical terminology. A national language is of course necessary for inter-provincial communication and for all-India administration, but it need not be the medium of instruction. Much is made of the difficulty of inter-provincial transfer of students, but the experience of Shanti Niketan, the institution on which he represents, shows that the difficulty is not real. There are more non-Bengali students at Shanti-Niketan than Bengali, and yet the former have experienced no difficulty in following the instruction in Bengali at that Institution.

Shri Bhatt

Government should withdraw all control over education, which should be left entirely to popular agencies.

Principal Vyas

The national language should be the medium necessarily at the University stage and preferably even at the secondary

stage The earlier it is introduced the better If the students at Shanti-Niketan belong to different language groups, so that there is no clear majority of any one group, why should the instructions not be in Hindi rather than in Bengali?

Shri Joshi

Prof. Wadia s analysis of the factors making against nationalism is not exhaustive e.g. he has left out corruption, selfishness, hypocrisy which must be eradicated if we are to have a truly national outlook and to command respect in other countries.

The Convention has become a debating society rather than an instrument for devising practical remedies for acknowledged evils.

Dr Zakir Hussain

It is essential to differentiate between unity and uniformity His own conception of India was that of a land with many languages, many communities, many states which yet possessed a common national outlook transcending all these differences. It is true that the road to the achievement of such unity in diversity is difficult, but what worthwhile thing is there, which is without difficulty?

As regards the language question, the regional language should be the medium of instruction at all stages. The national language — Hindi Hindustani as advocated by Gandhiji—should be taught throughout. The national language should be an alternative medium at the post-graduate stage. He visualized different types of institutions, however e. g. some institutions may continue using English as the medium and students who aspired to a diplomatic career may go to such institutions.

As regards the Hindu Muslim problem faith in democracy was the only solution. If Muslims could not change overnight, neither could any other community If people were to be more human in their outlook, tolerant towards others, recognize the feelings of others and their right to live in the way they liked so long as they did not jeopardize the national interest, there would be unity in our midst.

Dr. Tope

Hindi should be the national language but it should be standardized and popular usage must be the standard. The matter must be looked at from the point of view of the people in the villages, who form 85% of the population. When Gandhiji spoke of Rashtra Bhasha he meant not a national language but a common language which will serve all the purposes of administrative and inter-provincial communication in all spheres of activity

Prof. Wadia Replying

The problem of script had not been referred to in the discussion, but it was important. His first preference would be for the Roman script, but as the second best he would favour the Devnagari.

The experience of England or the U.S.A. shows that party government is not necessarily antagonistic to a national out look.

It is impossible that Government should withdraw all control on education while supporting it with finance. Moreover absence of control may lead to confusion.

Mr Joshi referred to the moral problem. This existed in every country though perhaps it was specially acute in India.

National unity is essential, and must be preserved at all cost. The alternative would be a return to the 18th century anarchy

The Chairman Shri Saiyidain

The Hindu-Muslim problem has not ceased to exist. To think so is to take too complacent a view Communalism was once on the side of Muslims; it is more evident now on the side of the Hindus. It is now for the Hindus to reassure the Muslims. Tolerance is the need of the hour—a tolerance which would accept and transcend even communal educational institutions and even high-flown Hindi or Urdu.

III

LEADING SPEECH BY DR. MULK RAJ ANAND

Subject What Is Our Cultural Heritage?

[27th October 1949]

Recorder Prof. Nikam

What precisely do we mean by our cultural heritage? Is it worthwhile to resurrect from our past the memories of what, at their best, are only certain ideas and realities which are lost in myth and legend? and what value have they for our broken and tormented society of today? and, if it is worth our while to save this heritage how is it to be saved?

Some years ago, M. Paul Valery the great French symbolist poet, roundly declared that the past of civilization was a dead weight suitably entombed in the sepulchres of academic history and that it was better for us to throw aside the weight of tradition and embrace the world with a fresh vision. And there is a seeming confirmation of this view in the fact which most English historians of India adduce without asking the why and how of it, that the Hindus never wrote serious history Another example is the Greeks, who came to live on virgin soil, created their cities and remained unburdened by a past, free of all confusion, unweighted by memory

The writing of history presupposes a sense of time. But since time is more susceptible to change than space, it becomes easy for the superficial to think of historical facts in terms of certain fixed ideas or symbols, like kings and queens, without going into the ramifications of all those dynamic struggles and movements generated by the people. So, we often tend to regard the inert museum piece as one form of our cultural heritage and the traditional values and conventions established by polite society as another

The beginnings of culture were in the tilling of the soil,

the rearing of silkworm, bees and flowers. Therefore, its sources lie in the life of the people, in the feelings and aspirations of the ordinary folk around their work, even though it expresses itself in universal forms through abstract ideas which define ultimate values and excellencies, arch-types of perfection. If we contemplate our past heritage, therefore we can only look at it, in the words of a savant, as if it were a great tree rooted in the soil though it sores to the sky

And even in looking at our cultural heritage thus, we are not merely accepting the yearnings and the struggles of our ancestors, as well as the values, notions and concepts they evolved, but, in full view of the need of the moment, we seek to assimilate to realize to transform what we accept into the pattern of our own existence In other words, all these historical beginnings all these heritages are not to be viewed as merely so many abstract ideas and theories, which will illumine our present problems and which will help us through the revival of this creed, or that dogma, to live anew we have to regard these histories as facts, realities, achievements of the human spirit which must be ordered and arranged and submitted to the tests of the living consciousness, of actuality to see how much and what they have contributed to the making of us. And in the cross-fertilization of the literature and the art of the past with the life of today we weave a web that embraces our multifarious strivings. Our cultural array of a number of works of art is our museums which, while they tickle our national pride become the embodiment of a living tradition.

It is precisely because none of the historians of India have so far attempted to see history as embodied in the myths and legends of our country as well as in the symbols and designs of our amorphous religions, that most of them think India has no history It is because many of them trace the history of our civilization in terms of generalities, rather than as the story of the groups of little peoples who inhabited our landscape with certain manners and customs, performing certain deeds and pronouncing certain words, that we get the hash and rehash of long familiar generalizations passing for appreciation of Indian culture.

The Younghusband-Rawlinson kind of approach which wafts a little incense before the established idols of the past is, of course mostly unconscious. I have no doubt that it is inspired by a genuine enough humanitarianism. But, never theless, it cannot catch the spirit of our civilization. And it leads to the curious policy adopted by many foreign Governments in the East, who, however absurd and inferior they consider native cultures, encourage even the most hackneyed and antiquated forms of these cultures by spending liberally to recast, build and preserve imitation pagodas when they have no money to spare for free primary education through which to give the living cultural heritage of the people a new life and a new significance.

There has been, as everyone knows, the more conscious approach of the European scholars, exemplified at its best in the work of Prof. Max Muller He was a German rather too anxious to trace his kinship with the Aryan brother but, at any rate, inspite of his exaggerations, a conscientious enough translator who devoted a life of research to the ideals embodied in the Vedas. And though his special studies precluded a comprehensive view his attitude was, by and large, adequate to his purpose and he showed his affection for old India 'If I were to ask myself, he wrote, 'from what literature we in Europe, who have been nurtured almost exclu sively on the thought of the Greeks and the Romans and our Semitic race the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more universal, in fact, more human, I should point to India

Then, there is the sentimental approach of our own indigenous Arya Samajist which honours the past by paying it the homage of a sigh and seeks to revive the Vedic age entire.

The past of India is certainly ours, but how are we to save it to make it ours?

As I have tried to show any survey of our past heritage which does not study it in relation to our own time but aims to borrow a theory of a way of life from history is doomed to failure. The schemata of most of the historians of our culture is the usual one familiar by now to the proverbial intelligent man for whom guide-books are written There

were the Aryan conquerors of India who wrote the Vedas and their successors who composed the epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata and evolved the caste system. Then there were other conquerors, the Scythians, the Huns, the Mahammadans, who all did their bit — especially the Mughals. Nowadays, of course, the historians begin their books from an earlier date than their predecessors, for as a result of the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, some evidence of a unique layer of Indian civilization of an earlier date has become available. The general idealism of the Vedanta looms large in all these surveys. A brief reference to the dramatists of the classical age and to the grammarians of the medieval period and the whole business is rounded off by an exposition of Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Shaktism.

One looks in vain in such surveys, for any knowledge about the original neolithic inhabitants of India for a description of the flights of fancy evidenced in their lovely stone-carvings of tree spirits or for the myths embodied in the heavy monoliths of the Mother Earth herself. Have these historians, one asks, ever read the more human stories included in the Mahabharata; or seen the significance of some of the moral ideas enshrined in the myths and legends that became current in the various periods? Is it not likely that the peasant, the potter the maker of toys of any time may give a truer picture of developments than the great currents which are supposed to run through the various periods? In fact, it may be that the series of poems and pictures around the Krishna culture are more useful to the cultured persons of today than the allegorical generalizations which interpret them, important as these latter are for it is in a synthesis of the beauty the subtlety and the human qualities of past culture with that of our own day that the hope lies of using our heritage effectively

The jibe that the Hindus never wrote any history cannot be sustained in the face of the imaginative work of a whole succession of poets, saints, artists, priests and story-writers, who though they may not yield such respectable evidence as our scientific historians desire, certainly continued to develop new folk forms almost century by century And howev-

indeterminate these early periods may be, there is enough in the vast mass of stories and ballads, lyrics and epics, to make the basis of a comprehensive survey of the societies from which these documents of human culture sprang up. And essentially this kind of multifarious material also dictated a new point of view of looking at history perhaps a typically Indian point of view — the attitude of comprehensiveness, with its corollary that the truth is many-sided and not necessarily the monopoly of any one group or sect and that toler ance is the supreme virtue.

Indeed, if the choice is to be made between the bird's-eye point of view of *studying Indian history* and the worm s-eye point of view I for one would plump for the latter. For the bird s-eye point of view involves an emphasis on the Vedantic truth as it has been interpreted by Shankara, for instance "The oversoul is of the one eternal verity the rest is illusion." The worm s-eye point of view on the other hand, shows that our past is not one thing or the other but is enshrined in our various energies, in our various strengths and weaknesses, in our many achievements and many failures and that it is essentially human. One God, one book, one leader one country was never the slogan of our people and dogmatism and fanaticism were discouraged. And in the vast majority of the saints of India, especially in the medieval poets, Kabir Chaitanya, Nanak, Mirabai and Tukaram, the concern for a human truth, a human philosophy and a human religion is most pronounced. Themselves sprung from the soil, they conceded a great deal to the little people.

It is often asserted that the character of the early societies of India was static over long periods and that the latter feudalism showed a continuity and a sameness which makes a story of its various phases superfluous. But, how then are the variations in art forms to be explained? Did not even the *caste system take a long time to develop? And was not the* revolt of Buddha against the metaphysical idealism of the Brahmins symptomatic of a great ferment whose cultural impulses resulted from the people s urge for a more humanized religion? And did not the Indian sensibility flow out

again, after the development of a great many different schools of philosophical thought in the drama of the golden age, in Ajanta with all the warmth of a passionate life bursting through the moon breasts and wine-jar hips of lovely women? And was the exhuberant vitality of medieval Indian sculpture, no different from the classical restraint of the Gupta period? How came it to be that the tradition of fresco painting lapsed for so many centuries only to re-emerge through certain survivals in the fold art of Gujarat of the 15th century and the Rajput paintings of the 18th and 19th centuries?

All these were slow changes in the social life of India which will have to be studied with reference to her ancestors and in terms of the forces and ideas they generated if it is to be secured from the fossilized generalising mind and if the past of India is to become ours. Meanwhile it is obvious that the real history of India has not yet begun to be written and the whole of Indian culture is waiting to be claimed by its true inheritors.

The following discussion took place

Principal K. L. Shrimali

"Sir I should like to ask a few questions. Dr Anand has given a brilliant exposition of the interpretation of Indian history and civilization. One question occurs to my mind Has the human being any hand in shaping the historical process? Dr Anand has given us an idea that economic factors have played a living role in the history of the world and also in the history of India. I do not wish to underrate the economic factors, but at the same time it is my belief and conviction that human beings do control and shape the economic factors. I do not want to repeat what I said yesterday Each civilization has to make its own unique contribution in Indian history We find that there are certain distinctive traits or characteristics of Indian culture which we probably would not find in other cultures. It would be more acceptable if I say that certain traits are emphasized in Indian culture For instance suffering and self-sacrifice. We have found expression of sacrifice and suffering in Mahatma Gandhi.

he

something that is unique. We have examples of Lord Buddha, Mahatma Gandhi and others who made tremendous sacrifices and underwent suffering. The way in which our political movement has taken shape in India is unique. The way in which it has taken shape in the form of non-violence is unique in the whole world history It is not possible for man to shape history instead of merely submitting to it.

"The second question is Is it possible to break with the past completely? Culture is a product of past history It is not possible for any civilisation to break completely from the past. There are certain distinctive traits. There are also geographical factors, the way the people live their vocations, all help in forming a certain distinctive way of life."

Dr P C. Bagchi

"I think we have still room for doubt. If there is a crisis in Indian culture probably it is the de-nationalised education that we had in the past. If we have that type of education which could help to discover the soul of man then there will be no crisis. There is an Indian way of life and an Indian view of life. Why should we think of the crisis? There is an impact of foreign culture and an impact of economic conditions. It is a question of adjusting ourselves to those conditions. There should be efficient administration and an effective system of education. If these needs are met then we will find that probably there is nothing to fear and no crisis.

"History should not be blamed. It has utility In the middle class we find specimens that are really the landmarks on the way we follow and probably they serve the way we have to follow There is a tradition that we have developed for centuries. Probably we have to improve on that. Certainly we cannot go away from that. History has that value. I think there will be no difficulty in adjusting the new conditions. As a reaction, we go back to Hindu culture. It is characterized by tolerance, by capacity for adjusting. We had in fact synthesized all traits of culture and we had developed a new civilization. We had the capacity of adjustment fundamentally There is therefore no crisis. We are opposed by other factors which are disturbing the fundamentals.

"The caste system was the most democratic system of old times. Fundamentally it meant 'live and let live.' They developed a sort of synthetic outlook in which every group had its own place. The Indian idea of unity is like that. In details there are differences and those differences will continue. We cannot disturb them. Destroy the different groups in different provinces and that will stand in the way of progress. Really India was not a nation. India consists of different nations. But, in spite of the differences there was a fundamental unity. The groups have been progressing in their own way. Personally I believe there is no crisis and it is a confused way of thinking. In accordance with the Indian view of life we will be able to adjust to new conditions. There is nothing to fear that way."

Prof. P. D. Gupta

"Economic factors do play an important part in life. Voltaire used to say 'I disagree with every word you say but I shall fight for your right to say it. There is certainly a great crisis of Indian culture today. There is a moral aspect of this crisis. The hallmark of this moral aspect is hypocrisy. I have never had greater respect for the English nation. Their man of war is no longer in power. Here, right from the highest to the lowest talk of Gandhiji. I had asked the question to the Hon'ble Minister. In what way do we follow Gandhiji? Acharya Kripalani said that there is nothing Gandhian in the Indian Constitution. Let us look at the mounting expenditure. This is not Gandhian. We are building armies. There is not a single item that would remind one of Gandhism. He gave us a weapon. The first thing is we should get rid of all cant and get our feet on firm soil. There is much confused thinking which we must give up and our culture of tomorrow must be based on a fundamental basis.

"We Hindus must realize the dignity of man and we must build our culture on that basis. All our talk is moonshine, unless we give the wherewithal and have decency of life. Dr. Anand talked of lack of culture. The new order to take place. We submit to authority that is to the

the greatest leaders that the world has produced. Something has to take place which has not taken place.

"The unity of culture is impossible of attainment without unity of language. How can you have a common culture without a common language? What about Switzerland? My students presented an address to Jai Prakash Narain. It was written in pure Hindi and I could not make head or tail of it.

"The hope of the country lies in its youth and not in the older generation. The latter are bungling. Their moral bank ruptcy is evident in black-market, nepotism, in all sorts of things. In Russia all old teachers were changed for the sake of the new ideology. In India all those who are rejected in other fields come for training as teachers!"

Dr. Ishwarnath Topa

"Dr. Anand's speech was very thought-provoking and speakers who spoke after him have spoken from all points of view. Some speeches were reactionary, some progressive and some erratic. We have assembled to consider the major problems. Not only India but also the world is passing through a cultural crisis. I would have wished Dr. Anand to use the word civilization.

"The whole fallacy of the discussions lies in this—we are talking the same thing but we do not know what we are talking about! I personally believe that there is a vast difference between culture and civilization. What we need today is a harmonization of the two. Culture without civilization cannot exist. Civilization without culture has no meaning. In our country great stress has always been laid on the cultural side of our life. This certainly is creditable.

"All the greatest men of the world have evolved a common human culture. Fundamentally it cannot be detracted. Civilization has changed India just as much as the other countries. At one time our country had reached its pinnacle of glory. There was a balanced view of life. So was it where. But we have been taking wrong examples.

"Our civilization has got to live to new forces of thought. The whole Indian constitution is r
ern. Everything is Western. India must ad

is spiritual, Civilization materialistic. If there is any message to give I request my friends to thrash out this problem of how to bring balance in estimating the values of civilization.

"People are against caste which has served its purpose in an agricultural civilization. Is it possible for us in future to retain Indian civilization when it comes in contact with world civilization? As a free people we should be with the world and not out of the world. It is a great pity that in modern India our thinkers are trying to propagate a way of life which is confined to a microscopic minority You have to reconstitute the social fabric to create a better civilization. The West is still passing through a crisis. We must formulate a workable scheme of our own."

Dr Topa said he certainly appreciated and believed in Gandhism.

Prof. R. P Patwardhan

"One remark I have to make. Everything was all right with our culture till the British came here. Our ills are due to bad education. To me it seems that the advent of the British was due to the lack of character which we displayed during the last two centuries. I can tell you that the degeneration of character in Maharashtra was so complete that the coming of the British was considered a god-send. At the same time it would be utterly wrong to ascribe everything to bad education during the British rule. There is a crisis. Dr Anand spoke of incompatibility of caste with democracy If that is not a crisis then what is? Hinduism has to renovate itself in the new age. If it did not get rid of caste it should get rid of democracy We have to eliminate this poison of caste

"There is one more remark I would like to make. The unity of culture or community of culture is not so important as the quality of culture If we evolve a common culture in India that by itself would not eliminate conflicts. In the last war the cultures of the two combatants were not different. The Chinese will say that in both cases it was European culture History is full of wars including civil wars A common culture is not going to eliminate them." Al

depends on the quality of culture. A convention of a high standard of culture is wanted."

Shrimati Sophia Wadia

"I would attempt a clarification. Several speakers have referred to the world crisis. We seem to confine ourselves to problems which belong to India primarily There is a crisis of civilization not only in India but in the whole world. What would be the fundamental moral, the permanent values that would restore the civilization of the West, as also the civilization of the East ? If we could agree, it is the modern contemporary civilization that has gone wrong. Many of the speakers have touched upon the actual diagnosis—the moral basis. We are thinking in terms of duties and responsibilities as human beings to all other human beings. Injustice, exploit ation hypocrisy exist. Are we doing anything to remove them ? That is the moral crisis brought about by the disintegration of culture.

"Another point. If there is a crisis, it is not only a challenge but it is an indication of hope. If there is a crisis, there is danger If there is a crisis, there is also an oppor tunity It includes the dangerous aspects and we may not take hold of the opportunity I would submit we are confronting a crisis. There is a danger That danger is primarily because we have almost all human permanent values—true, moral, universal and fundamental principles. You will be able to do nothing or very little by changing things outside you.

"Each one will ask Am I following the Gandhian philosophy ? Dr Anand began by finding out an old way and a new way Who is following the old way? If by that is meant—the philosophy of the old Upanishads, the Geeta, the modern students have not even read them. The old way is not followed. One man followed it and we killed him. We produced Gandhiji. There is some possibility of using this crisis as a real opportunity The question is, are we really sincere ? What is it we stand for ? The religion of humanity professed by all great ones, which should appeal to the highest and the best in us, never minds what our political ideologies

and labels are. I commend a platform of the dignity of humanity, the oneness of humanity."

Hon. Prem Narain Mathur

"I agree with Dr. Anand that ultimately primarily and basically it is the social factors that give rise to thinking in terms of our past history. But, what I want to say is this—that social changes give rise to ideas and concepts, without transcending history. In the case of some of these ideas and concepts, especially *moral concepts*, they transcend history. They acquire independent values and they ought to be respected through all ages and at all times. I quite agree that partly our present crisis is economic and there is no doubt that only social justice can end it. This is on account of the industrial and other economic transformation through which we are passing. But while working for a new and just social order we must not of course give up those eternal values of life evolved by humanity in its long history.

IV

LEADING SPEECH BY DR. ZAKIR HUSSAIN

Subject: Factors Involved In The Re-education Of National Character

[28th October 1919]

Recorder Prof. Dawood

Mr Chairman and Friends

In my opinion, the most important things to be consider ed in the re-education of the national character are these: In the first place we should make sure as to what our nation stands for We have been hearing of the crisis in our culture, we have been hearing of a crisis without culture in India. We should therefore be clear as to what we stand for My feeling is We stand for a non-exploiting co-operative society in this country organized in a secular democratic state. All these four qualities of our social life go to make our national out look. All our educational systems ,all our educational efforts should be subordinated or should be subjected to these four objectives. In order to do that we have to train ourselves into methods of approach, logical thinking and objective judgment. Every nation on the march has a big thorn in its front. The pride of the past. The past is not bad because it is the past. It is good because it is good in itself and similarly it is bad because it is bad in itself. We have therefore to have a critical appraisal of our past. Therefore, our educational workers, institutions, our whole educational system should aim at a very critical appraisal of our social heritage. Pick out the things that are worthwhile, perpetuate them and with equal courage refuse to accept what is wrong. In my opinion there is something which is very important in our method of education. Having known what is good in the past we can only content ourselves by tranmitting it to future generations. Values cannot be judged by words but can be judged only by experience. Our whole educational system is a system of words. transmitting values by words. That is not sufficient. We do not try we do not know what arrange-

ments are good for experiencing values. Our workers in science work all their lives to collect some information. They pretend to do it in order to get a job. Our people of arts want to talk of art. They do not know what art is. Ninetynine out of hundred do not have experience of art.

We subscribe to the ideal of honesty We resort to the most dishonest belief We are the most untruthful people in the world. This is the actual situation. We should do something about it in our educational system. Wherever we transmit these values to educate the future citizens of the country let it be at the primary or the university stage. We should see that the values we stand for are experienced. In most cases whatever we stand for these are the two basic things which we should make sure of—we should pick out only the good from our social, political, intellectual and moral heritage and before we transmit these values, we should see that we experience them. We will for that reason have to change the books—please do not think that I am smuggling the idea of basic education in the country In my opinion we have to change our educational systems into communities of work. All scientists are supposed to work in search of jobs; they never get the joy of experience There is no atmosphere of thought and I think, therefore, it is absolutely essential that the spirit of our whole educational system be changed. Unless we do this there is not going to be reorientation either on the intellectual or on the moral plane. In order that we do this we have to transform the whole educational system so that we are able to instill a spirit of objectivity which is so essential, so that we are able to learn to think with our heads and not with our blood. Throughout the history of fascism, it has been a case of thinking with blood, with disastrous results. It is the mind that should work, it is the brain that should work. We should not be carried away by blood Therefore I make these two submissions.

The following discussion took place —

Principal M. T Vyas

"How are we going to change the education of There should be some ways and means of teaching

ing their attitude We cannot dispense with them, we need them very badly

"Are there any suggestions for re-educating the parents? Are there any suggestions for the organization of parents? Are there any suggestions for the books to be used and the methods to be adopted?

"Primary and secondary education Why is it that primary teachers have not been invited? There are no teachers organizations either"

Principal K. L. Shrimali

"For a new social order scientific thinking should be developed. Objectivity is taken to mean neutrality I should like to know from you whether it is possible for an educational institution to remain completely neutral in a society where there are conflicting ideologies. At present, as you have pointed out, there are various conflicting ideologies working in society and they are all attempting to influence the minds of the children and the minds of our youth. There are certain ideologies which are definitely striking at the very root of our democratic society striking at the very values which we have been cherishing in the past. Now these agencies work from various sources, cinema, radio, newspapers, political platforms; there are various other ways in which youth is being exploited. Now is it possible for a teacher to remain completely neutral to these conflicting forces? My own feeling is, the teachers cannot remain neutral to the basic and fundamental values of our culture. It is his moral obligation as a teacher to inculcate these values in our youth. He must be militant and mu nate these fundamental moral values. I do not thi be able to revise our understanding for an appr fundamental values."

Shri V N Patani

He advocated education of the cation as a first and foremost He suggested deep thinking at each day-to-day life.

Dr Mulk Raj Anand

He laid great emphasis on the treatment of children. In his opinion, they were subject to undue fear were frustrated, with the result that they lost their individuality capacity to think on any problem before them, afraid of taking any decisions right or wrong. He indicated that what was needed was not actually so much of re-education but to know how to educate them in an atmosphere of goodwill, love and freedom. He said the children do not have the freedom to think, to talk what they want, to do what they want and to express what they would like to do in their life. In his opinion, the children of our times lack the encouragement to select their way of life. They are being subject to dictation from the old. He recommended the employment of more women as teachers. This, in his view would have a tremendous benefit because of the natural ability of women for being affectionate, patient, tolerant and gentle in their methods of education. Men, he said, were bound to be at least unconsciously hard and impose their ideas and preferences on children. He was strong in his condemnation of the interest that is lacking in our educational system of this aspect, which is evident from the insignificant number of women teachers we have.

On the question of re-educating teachers, in Dr Anand's view the teacher cannot and should not be expected to take a philosophical attitude in life. Everyone cannot become a philosopher overnight. Everyone is first and foremost a human being For a teacher to devote himself completely to the education of children in the proper way, he should be properly placed, properly looked after and properly paid for In his opinion, the source of the evil is economic. He advocated a reasonable pay scale for teachers.

Shri B. N Gokhale

In his view there is nothing wrong with the present educational system. He says that we are all the products of the present educational system. It has given us at least enough ability to think rationally and discuss courageously a subject of this type He said, reform of the present educa-

tional system was much more preferable than its total abolition. To a question of how much he would pay the teachers, he said he would pay as much as they want, provided the Government give the schools and colleges enough to meet their requirements.

Principal V K. Gokak

On a point of reference to the soul as the object of re-education, he recommended meditation for a short duration in all educational institutions. He said, since soul was a factor in the building of a national character meditation if introduced in all institutions would serve as a healthy factor

Dr N S. N Sastry

Referring to experiencing values, Dr Sastry was of the opinion that experience cannot be had by work alone. There should be other opportunities of experiencing values at different stages of life.

Shri K. G. Vaidyanathan

"I am not one of those who believe that the educational system which obtains in the present day is so bad and useless as some people try to paint it. No system is perfect in this world and it is heartening to note that endeavours are being made to make changes in the system both by the State and the people. But, most surely education needs a revolution and a refocussing of the objective. There has been after August 1947 a change in the concept of citizenship. The gaining of swaraj for the country by the weapon of non-violence is nothing short of a miracle. It is very necessary therefore that this great principle of non-violence or ahimsa should be ingratiated into the new concept of citizenship.

"How then, are we to help the boys and girls in schools to develop a non violent attitude to life? This attitude cannot be brought about by injection into the body politic at an advanced stage. A beginning has to be made at the early stages when a girl or boy is at school. It is here that in our training in citizenship we should introduce this element. It is precisely in this aspect that our education needs a little orientation.

"Education that obtains in the schools [illegible] conducive to the development of that [illegible] ahimsa. If we are able in some measure to [illegible] non-violent attitude to life, it will be a great [illegible] world peace. In short, what we have to [illegible] tion for peace, so that the weary world might [illegible] of relief and begin to live a life of joy and peace and [illegible] permit man to lead an abundant life.

"Towards this end I suggest the following [illegible]

1. Elimination of fear from the class-room, [illegible] and the school. In an atmosphere of fear nothing can [illegible] Our schools of today have recourse to fear in some [illegible] other at various stages for maintaining discipline. [illegible] end. The word discipline means the attitude of a disciple— a learner. If a boy is punished, he is embittered, he develops a complex and only becomes more cautious in committing the mistake. Punishment has not brought about a change in the boy. It is only through persuasion and understanding and love that we can touch the heart of the boy and effect the desired change in him.

2. Training of the emotions. We resort to corporal punishment sometimes in some form or other though it is fast vanishing. But to substitute a kind of threat or fear in its place for correcting the boy will be worse than inflicting corporal punishment. For fear does a lot of harm to the emotional growth of the boy. Anything done to stifle the emotional growth of the boy is certainly not true education.

3. Avoid prizes. In the words of Madame Montessori, one of the great educationists of the young in these days, the system of prize-giving is a monstrosity in education. When you give a prize to a boy for his achievements you are really harming a hundred other boys. And yet, the prize that the boy received was not due entirely to his own efforts. Take the case of a boy who comes first in a race. It might be because of the anthropological advantages that the boy had, it might be due to his good parentage that he has a healthy body. It might be due to the good food that was available to the boy because of the affluent circumstances in which he was born. So when you give a prize to this boy

really inflicting a punishment on a hundred other boys for not having the environmental advantage. Is it fair? Much rather take the society to task.

4. Respect for the lower kingdoms of nature. Very often, the boy thoughtlessly and carelessly harms the vegetable and animal world. We should be able to make the child realize that if we molest a plant or hurt an animal, it is definitely a negation of the attitude of kindness, sympathy and love. This will ultimately result in the boy having a hardened heart which will go against the principle of cultivation of love.

"If you try to remodel our educational systems on the lines indicated there is some dim hope that our country will be able to contribute something towards the establishment of world peace. Through such and other similar means we should attempt to bring up in boys and girls a right attitude to life a non-violent attitude to life. Non-violence in other words means courage. Let us hope that our educational systems will be reoriented to achieve this end."

Shri B. H. Zaidi

For the building up of a national character Dr Zaidi says, faith in democracy is essential. To have faith in democracy he says, there should be a spirit of compromise, proper understanding, tendency or aptitude or willingness to give vent to the other man s feelings, and broadening of the basis of our loyalties.

"Democracy cannot exist without a spirit of compromise. We should respect other people s opinions even though they may go against our own convictions. However we should be able to convince the other man of the right or wrong of the problem and win him to our side by democratic means. Actually there is no meaning in the name of an individual or institution. One can be a Hindu, one can be a Muslim, one can be a Christian, yet all of them may or may not be democrats having a sense of toleration or compromise.

"We should all get out of the old prejudices which were circumstantial."

Principal P D Gupta

"What are the principal means of re-educating the national character? Books. Our entire system of prescribing books for children should be changed.

"No education of the national character is possible unless we raise the status of teachers. It is the school masters who are ill-paid and not the professors. Professors work for personal interests and not for the national good."

Referring to the non-exploitative co-operative society founded in a secular and democratic state he was of the view that we do not aim at the industrialization of the country What is actually needed is immediate socialism.

Talking of denominational schools, his view was that they were no good for the purpose we have in view

He suggested that efforts for character building should not lie with universities in the beginning; they should come from the parents.

Principal A. R. Dawood

In a brief but pointed exposition of the case, he felt rather puzzled over the circumstances under which this re-education or re-building of the character is to be undertaken.

He said that the teacher is concerned with the child only for a few hours. The rest of the child's life is being spent outside where all sorts of forces influence the child and change the building of the character accordingly Therefore, the society outside is as much responsible for the building of the character as the teacher or the parent is. He laid great emphasis on the re-education of the parent.

Shri R. G. Gyani

Shri Gyani advocated education from the primary to the post-graduate stage through museums and advocated establishment of more museums.

Dr Ishwarnath Topa

Referring to Dr Zakir Hussain's suggestion to establish a non-exploitative co-operative society founded on a secular and democratic state he liked to know whether such a thing

is possible to conceive and workable in a state conceived, founded and worked by capitalists or by people backed by capitalists. By establishing one, does the leader intend to overthrow the present Governments? There is immense poverty in the country immense illiteracy in the country Under these circumstances Dr Zakir Hussain's scheme seemed revolutionary and unworkable.

He felt that any scheme of education that might be introduced or envisaged should be more rural than urban in its outlook and objective as the entire problem in India centres round the masses in the villages and not the few thousands in the urban areas. Any plan of education should have the villages as the basis.

Mr. J A. K. Martyn

On the question of books, Mr Martyn suggested that proper attention should be paid to the problem of books as they are an essential part of the student's life. Further reading *outside the schools should also be encouraged.*

Professor P C. Bagchi

He agreed with the suggestion that the teachers should start re-educating themselves for the rebuilding of their character with a view to develop a national outlook.

With regard to the text books, he was of the view that the present committees dealing with the question of books were not true to the purpose in most cases, being influenced by vested interests.

In his opinion, it is essential that the committee be requested to prescribe only syllabuses and not text books.

Shri S. S. Dasnavi

He said national life was of two parts, one students and the other adults, and that re-education of both should be under taken.

Dr S. K. Das

The aim of education should be religious—not religious in the orthodox sense; it should inculcate the need for duty and reverence, reverence to and acceptance of heritage not be-

cause it has come down from olden times but because of the good in it.

The proposed non-exploitative and co-operative society should aim at socialization of education.

On the question of objectivity he suggested that education should inculcate the idea that wisdom is the utilization of knowledge and not knowledge the utilization of wisdom.

Dr Zakir Hussain's Answer to Principal Vyas

"It is very difficult for me to say what is to be done with the teachers. Something must be done. The obvious answer is the State. But, teachers have to begin themselves. We are responsible for quite a number of things in the state Virtue is also contagious. If you begin to do a good thing for some time to come, then perhaps the State will step in and take all the credit for what you have done.

"With regard to parents, individual schools can solve that problem. They will have to re-educate the parents as otherwise your work is wasted. There is a movement for adult education. These schemes are not enough.

"Books. The teachers should themselves prepare books for children. The State will resist. The work will have to go on."

Answer to Principal K. L. Shrimali

"Objectivity is over-nutrality Objectivity looks at things not from the personal point of view but with personal interests subjected to the basically accepted principle on which Indian society is to be found, the ideal of the non exploiting co-operative society organized in a secular democratic state. I subscribe to these ideas. Look at things from the point of view of principles, whether democratic or not. Objectivity in social affairs is, judging things in the light of certain fundamental ideas which you have accepted and not in the light of personal interests."

Dr Kalidas Nag

He paid a great tribute to Dr Zakir Hussain for being a man of faith even at times when he may become alone in his principles and ideas. He quoted him as an example of having

faith in oneself rather than being a pessimist and defeatist always.

Sardar Pooransingh

He began to make references of contributions made by the East Punjab Government when the Chairman indicated that such details did not contribute towards progress in the discussion or solution of the problem under discussion.

Dr Zakir Hussain s Concluding Remarks

"Gandhiji s contribution to this country is immense and one instance is the idea of basic education. In many places, basic education has been taken only in name.

"With regard to teachers salaries, I do agree that they are not well paid. But the teachers should understand their responsibility towards society which should not be measured in money terms and they should not resort to strikes." Dr Zakir Husain said that he was temperamentally against strike of any type and much against strike by teachers. Further teachers, if they are really such, should not compare themselves with people of the black market and try to earn or find out ways and means to earn an income similar to that of people who thrive on the black market. This, he put for ward as an appeal to all teachers. Of course, teachers are perfectly entitled to ask for a living wage.

"The implication of democracy in education is experienc ing of values. Almost all teachers in our country lack the joy of their experience in their profession. Similarly all scientists lack the joy of experience in life. The attitude of a true democrat is to enjoy his profession in terms of the real values, fundamental values implied in the chosen profession and not to be carried away with the material benefits that may accrue from the profession."

In reply to a question from Dr Sastry whether values can be experienced only by work, Dr Zakir Hussain ex plained that he used the word 'work' in a more comprehen-sive way meaning working intellectually

In reply to Dr Topa s doubt as to whether a non-exploi-tative co-operative society was conceivable in a capitalistic state and whether such society would allow a capitalistic

state to exist, he said difficulty was no argument for those who wanted it and for those who really needed such a society

In reply to another comment by Dr Tope on the question of basic education, Dr Zakir Husain remarked that basic education was primarily meant for villages. Even when it was first envisaged by Gandhiji, his ultimate aim was to educate the masses in the villages, although there was heavy opposition to such a scheme.

It is fatal to think that everything can be done only through the State and by the State. Individual beginnings should be made. Perhaps in certain cases the State may resist, yet it should be continued. Ultimately the State itself may take it up after being convinced of the advantages derived by such a system. Both the people and the State should do their best in the matter

V

LEADING SPEECH BY DR. R. P PARANJPYE

Subject: Development Of A Scientific Outlook

[28th October 1949]

Recorder Dr N S. N Sastry

Speaking with a great diffidence before this distinguished gathering I would like to place a few commonplace considerations regarding a scientific outlook. In the first place, we must not overlook the difference between mere intellectual acceptance of the scientific outlook and the realization of that outlook in all our practical concerns. To the *former* perhaps, there might not be great theoretical objection, for at least in Hindu India thought has been generally free and many of our ancient writers have advocated the most heterodox doctrines, including even atheism, without encouraging any great difficulties, provided those doctrines did not interfere with the observance of accepted rites and ceremonies. Any deviation from these was however frowned upon. About fifteen years ago at Lucknow when the question of holidays was being considered in the executive council of the University I suggested that the usual holiday on account of the solar eclipse be dropped, as the idea underlying it was quite inconsistent with the astronomy that we were teaching our students. But a large majority of the council did not accept the need of consistency between our scientific knowledge and our actual practice and the holiday was retained against my advice On a similar occasion, over forty years ago I carried my point while I was Principal of the Furgesson College, though the newspapers, including the famous 'Kesari abused me for being antagonistic to Indian culture. This is a small matter but it illustrates a tendency to regard such absurd practices as an essential constituent of our culture. While, normally science is the most popular faculty in most of our Universities claiming more students than the formerly popular art faculty it can

hardly be said that the scientific way of looking at all questions is more common than before.

This conclusion can be drawn from various considerations. Leaving aside the pure mystics who admittedly lean only upon their inner light which is not subject to any rational analysis, we remark upon the increasing vogue of such pseudo-sciences as astrology palmistry numerology etc. Many newspapers make a special feature of their astrological columns and probably make a good profit from them. I have not seen any investigation of these pseudo-sciences by accepted statistical methods, and even if it were proved to the satisfaction of any scientific person that there is no basis for their claims, their votaries will continue to read the predictions in newspapers and perhaps be guided by them in their daily transactions or their speculations on the race course or the stock exchange and the astrologers will continue to be consulted on the suitability or otherwise of a projected matrimonial alliance and the proper time for its celebration. We smiled at the fixation of an unearthly hour about midnight for the inauguration of an independent Burma on astrological considerations, but similar happenings are not unknown in our country The success of the Indians over a touring cricket team at Benares a few years ago was, we are told, due not to the excellent play of our cricketers but to the various incantations and ceremonies performed by the learned pandits of that holy city on the morning of the match at the suggestion of a personality prominent in the world of Indian cricket.

You will smile at such happenings, especially if you yourself are not secretly devoted to, or at least interested in, these things but I put it to you that they exhibit the absence of a scientific outlook. This outlook to my mind is not confined to the museum or the laboratory only The test tube the microscope or the museum are not the only materials for its exercise it must inform the whole being of an individual and our science education must aim at this ideal.

I do not wish to belittle the value of the practical training given in our school, college or university laboratories. It prepares man for advancement in the industrial or agricultu-

ral field. But if it is all properly imparted, it must sharpen the understanding of the student on the essential concepts of number space, time and force. Some experience in interviewing cadidates for the army or the civil services has left on my mind the impression that with all their fiddling with miscroscopes, balances and test tubes many of them are found somewhat wanting in accurate ideas of these fundamental concepts. Without such accurate ideas a man is not fully suited to the modern world full of scientific appliances. Of course a certain amount of dexterity with the hands is required by the practical training in the laboratories that is imparted in schools in these days, and I have often painfully realized that as in my days at school practical work was not usual, I am somewhat wanting in this dexterity and that such practical work as I carried out while studying for the B.Sc. did not quite make good the deficiency On the other hand, I am afraid that students at present specialize too early and even when they are studying science they are apt to confine themselves only to physics and chemistry or botany and zoology and thus miss getting a general view of both physics and chemistry and there is a general neglect of biological sciences except in the case of those who intend to go in for medicine. This, to my mind, makes science students one-sided even in their selected studies; while their almost complete ignorance of humanistic studies like literature, history and economics makes them too often easy dupes of any plausible advocates of any social and political theories.

Although this is not professedly an educational conference, I cannot refrain from giving vent to my considered opinion that specialization should not begin too early that all students should up to the age of eighteen, have to study a wide range of subjects in a general way In this age of competition between many different subjects for a place in the educational curriculum we must somehow arrive at a working compromise between those who aim at knowing more and more about less and less and those who content with knowing less and less about more and more. Thus students of arts subjects should be required to take some courses on the general principles of science and a rapid survey of the history

of science and the main problems which have affected the course of human history like gravitation or evolution. Science students on the other hand should have not only a general idea of the scope of the various branches of science but also some conception of the development of man as a social animal, they should have a general course in world history politics, economics, sociology and the literature of their own language. The programme mentioned above seems at first sight too extensive and burdensome but in the hands of competent teachers and with the help of suitable popular books they would widen the student's interests and make him a better citizen of the world as well as of our own country In any case young men and women so educated will bring Indian culture into harmony with the cultures of other parts of the world. I would not make all this programme the subject for a regular and formal examination, through the teachers, to make them write essays on such topics as are discussed in these general lectures. Of course, it all depends on the teachers to make such courses interesting and not an infliction as for example much of the so-called religious instruction is in many places.

I have spoken about the various sciences or different humanistic subjects. What, I would be asked, do I propose to do with questions of a moral or a spiritual nature? I shall answer that whatever the subject, it has to be discussed in the light of such reasoning faculty as a human being has. Except for the man who frankly says that, his word has to be accepted as his ipse dixit without one 'if' or 'but' everybody else who makes claim to any new view or opinion must needs try to recommend it to others on a presumably rational basis. The doctrines of religion should also be subjected to such a rational analysis if possible and the domain of supra-rational (or is it infra rational?) material should be limited as much as possible. On many points, however one will have to be content with an agnostic attitude for the moment.

A scientific attitude is equally possible in the domain of historical or literary criticism. A besetting danger in this and in fact most other fields is the bias of patriotism (as Spencer calls it) and the related bias of antipatriotism. On

the latter we often hear lamentations that the British rule and especially the British system of education has tended to make us take too lowly a view of ourselves and of our ancient achievements. We should certainly get out of this way of looking at things and our new independence will help us to do so. But we should beware of falling into the opposite attitude of regarding ourselves and our leaders and ancestors as superior to everybody else in the world. There are pseudo-scholars of Sanskrit who consider that every new scientific discovery has been mentioned in the Vedas only we did not know how to interpret the Vedic record. According to them, railways, the telegraph and other modern scientific developments were known in ancient times, and I believe after the discovery of atomic energy our scholars are busy finding out references to it in the old books! The pity of it is that these references are found only after actual discoveries have been made by the laborious process of scientific experiment and observation. As regards new theories in science, they can according to some scholars, be all found in old texts, for they have only to give new interpretations—or mis-interpretations of the old words to fit modern speculation.

In the related domain of philosophy our scholars have a grand time. They have to work on the one famous rule of philisophy— consonants get interchanged and vowels don't matter" I am reminded of this by a lecture I heard some years ago by a well known politician, scholar and literateur He was giving a talk on some aspects of the Mahabharata, discussing the travels of Arjuna with the horse which was set free to roam at will all over the world as a symbol of the world sovereignity of his brother Yudhisthira after the successful close of the great war In these travels, Arjuna, who was accompanied by an army to fight anybody who presumed to interfere with the movements of the horse came across several tribes and countries whose names are mentioned in the great epic. Apparently he happened to be reading at the time he was preparing his paper some travel books on Manchuria and Mongolia, and was struck by a slight resemblance of sound between some names in them with those in the Mahabharata. He straightaway jumped to the conclu-

sion that Arjun must have visited these countries and brought them under the sway of Hastinapur He obviously never cared to consult a map which would have shown him that those countries were some three or four thousand miles away and any traveller would have to go over vast waterless deserts, and high snow-clad mountains. Even for a lone traveller such a journey would have taken some years and to conduct an army over these regions would be a major military operation even in those days, requiring elaborate preparations over several years. But our scholar was only intent upon showing the greatness of our ancestors and was blind to the ordinary mundane considerations of space and time As another example I would mention that a few days before I was leaving for Australia five years ago, a retired district judge sent me a copy of his book in which he showed to his own satisfaction that the Ramayana contains a mention of Australia and the seas and islands that lie in the way What fools Van Dieman, Bass, Cook and other explorers must have been to suffer all the dangers of these voyages in perilous, unknown and uncharted seas, when all they should have done was to study the Ramayana and they would have found a Baedekar's guide to Australia and the South Sea Islands there! I trust that the judgments of this judge on the more common affairs of the world which came before him were more logical and sound. I need not refer to some scholars who consider that aviation was known in ancient times as there are continual references to vimans' in our literature I have mentioned these absurd instances of the absence of a scientific approach to all problems whether literary philosophical or strictly scientific even among our best men. Is it possible to have a sane culture among our people when our judgments and opinions are wrapped by emotional considerations?

The scientific outlook that I want to have widely cultivated means constant readiness to consider every question on its merits from a rational point of view I occasionally see a want of this readiness even amongst some of our leaders. Thus, while most thoughtful men are inclined to regard the population problem as the most vital problem for the future

of our country even our Prime Minister is often reported as *saying that in his opinion India is rather underpopulated.* The public would like to know from him in detail how he sustains this thesis from actual facts and not from contingent hypothetical happenings in future. I have observed at this session references to RSS of a violent vituperative measure. I do not know what evidence they have got for their opinion, but probably they go on the unverified statements in Parliament about the Sangh. When we see that, just before January 30 1948 many ministers were praising the RSS for its valuable work especially in the cause of refugees, I think more than a bare statement even from the highest quarters is required and that is why some of us who are not at all connected with the RSS asked for an open or at least a fair *enquiry by legally trained persons. After all, as the Latin* proverb says, *tag nems repente fit turpisimus*—no one becomes to the lowest of the low all of a sudden both in the moral and political world. But, I am afraid, several of my friends here have not shown a true scientific attitude on the question. While giving due weight to what has been said, written or thought before; will not do to be overawed by the mere prestige of a great name or a great work. Even Newton, great as he was in his own field, could make mistakes and could therefore be improved upon. We, in this country are too prone to give undue importance to personalities and regard their opinions on every subject as sacrosanct.

I would like to urge that all teachers should be given the liberty to discuss questions with their pupils in an informal way—I of course agree that the subjects should be chosen to suit the mental development of the particular class. But there should be no attempt to dictate to the pupils the opinions they should hold. In fact, students should be encouraged to study particularly the case of the side they are inclined to reject, for only by studying the opponent's case will they be able to accept rationally and not from mere prejudice, their own case. Thus it would not be a bad idea to have a discussion in which one or two students should try to plead the case for Dr Malan and his apartheid policy or to come near home make a plea for the retention of untoucha-

bility. Of course the opposition case will be pleaded by others in the discussion. It is only in this way that students can acquire the habit of rational discussion and toleration which is of such great importance in democratic society. I would bring before them the example of Mill, who in his controversial essays puts before us the opponents' side better than even they can put it and then proceeds to marshall his own arguments. It would also be better if teachers are not strict party men in politics but are generally well-informed and take interest in public questions, though this does not mean that they should not have their right as educated teachers, and certainly students, would do well as citizens to remember Voltaire's advice to have 'preference but no exclusions.'

I have been insisting that the scientific outlook must pervade every field. In the material field, two persons with a scientific outlook are likely to agree in their conclusions when they accept the data. In fields like economics, politics, or social reform, however, they may not agree although they have the same data before them, for in these subjects it is a question of weighing probabilities and assessing the various relevent factors. Personal predilections will have a certain influence; old associations, perhaps even inherited tendencies, will determine judgment. Hence the scientific outlook implies understanding and tolerance of opposing views. These qualities are not very easy to acquire, for everybody is prone to think of himself always right and others wrong. I hope that young men and women are impressed in their formative years with the essentially tentative nature of most opinions on current questions. They should not be immersed too early in the rough and tumble of current politics where there is need of immediate action. The intense absorption of students in politics had been deprecated by seeveral far-seeing leaders long ago, but in the recent fight for the country's independence they were put in the vanguard of the political movement, much to their ultimate disadvantage. Our present leaders are now realizing their mistake, but it will now take long to correct it. But, the attempt should be made.

The totalitarian outlook which is observable in all parts

of the world is the very antithesis of the scientific outlook. Under Hitler in Germany it took the form of burning libraries to cleanse them of anti-Nazi literature. In Russia even scientists are required to work only for the advancement of Soviet science, and distinguished men are ousted from their posts of research and even perhaps liquidated if they are politically suspect. A somewhat similar tendency is observ able in America, though perhaps to a less extent, when they are hunting out un-American activities. I hope that we in India will make a conscious effort to avoid the dangers of dictatorship and totalitarianism. Perhaps, these dangers are eve nmore threatening here than elsewhere, for we have always been too prone to attach far more importance to personalities than to opinions. In the religious and spiritual field this is obvious for even educated men have been known to become devoted chelas or disciples of Gurus or Swamis whose word is law to them. But, is there not a like danger in our public life? When about a year ago one of our top political leaders openly confessed that the institution of the Mahatma was more important than his own rational conclu sions, we could very well realize that the real scientific outlook is very far from being generally current in our own country It is not my object to deal with any current political or economic questions but this frank admission has to be recognized as a danger-signal and every effort must be made to see that such an attitude of mind does not become a sign of patriotism.

To close these remarks, may I say that I entirely agree with the Chairman of our convention when he tells us "we would be able to evolve a more just and rational and lovely pattern of life for our newly liberated country only if there is a radical reorientation of some of the current ideas, attitudes, which in the ultimate analysis, determine our individual and collective behaviour and if through coherent and organized educational efforts (in the widest sense of the word) we eradicate or at least weaken the unhealthy tendencies and motives of conduct. It is hardly necessary to enu merate all the things that we are up against — that lack of civic sense, of discipline, of efficiency in everyday things, of

pride in craftsmanship of the capacity for co-operation, of tolerance." For attaining these ideals we want courage and more courage not only in the common man, but even more so in our leaders. Courage to be unpopular for one's opinion, courage even to lose elections and be deprived of power is what is wanted. A comprehensive sense of liberty at all stages and in all fields—in the villages and the cities, in schools and colleges, in village panchayats, in local bodies and in parliaments—a respect for the liberty of others as well as for yourself, these must be widespread in all strata of society. Compulsion is fatally easy especially for constituted authorities. But, even if successful, it will not succeed in creating a great India for which our great leaders have worked and for which we are yearning.

IMPORTANT POINTS DISCUSSED DURING THE CONVENTION

[From the Chairman's Notes]

I NEED FOR A BROAD OUTLOOK

1. We are living in a world of Serious Conflicts, material and ideological. We cannot and should not try to suppress and steam-roll differences but to understand and harmonize them so far as possible.

2. In the recent past, the urge for political freedom provided a common rallying point and kept serious differences in check. Now they have become dangerously acute and it is necessary to cultivate consciously a common outlook and approach to life which will give us a unity in diversity

3. It is wrong to formulate a rigid dualism between Western materialism and Eastern spiritualism. Actually these two elements are to be found in all cultures and no stable culture or civilization can be built up without taking the claims of both into account. A decent material civilization postulates certain moral standards of conduct and every sound culture must have a sound economic and material foundation. It is idle to talk about culture and spiritual life to people whose most elementary wants are not adequately satisfied.

4. We must strive to build in our people an integrated outlook covering all aspects of life—social, economic, political and moral i.e. the same general principles of decent conduct must guide our individual and collective conduct in different spheres of life.

5 This integrated outlook must include

(a) Faith in the dignity and equality of man and in real democracy

(b) A scientific attitude of mind, valuing facts and unbiassed in the judgment of scientific as well as soc phenomena—without prejudices and prepossessions

(c) A dynamic attitude, appraising the past, present and future and eager to welcome new things critically

(d) Recognition of the need for personal purification and cultivation of good qualities in self, for only good means can achieve good ends.

6. In the world of to-day, culture is acquiring a world connotation—divisions of time and space are breaking down geographical and communal and racial labels of culture are losing their meaning.

7 The party system in politics is a threat to clear and scientific thinking, because it is thinking to order and the self criticism of groups of like-minded persons is very difficult.

8. Education must be so orientated as to cultivate this outlook not only through books and syllabuses but teachers who are intellectually honest and courageous and will not be cowed down by power or money or pressure of Government or public opinion. This freedom from fear is necessary not only for teachers but for all.

9 Our conception of Justice should be as wide as mankind—it is not doing good to one's friends and ill to one's enemies. But humanism does not envisage all human beings under these two categories.

10. Narrowness in the Concept of Culture is fatal—all culture is our domain, whoever profits from it—hence the rejection of any languages or literature or art or music or thought or science or racial, geographical or communal grounds deserves the clearest condemnation, e.g. not only all Indian languages but English and classical languages like Persian, Arabic are part of our heritage.

11. While different national or even group cultures have their different characteristics which may have their special values (e.g. service, sacrifice suffering and non violence in India) it is necessary for us in our age to find common meeting points of culture and to stress them more than their divergences. We should not, for example adopt an attitude of hostility towards the languages and literatures or science of the West.

12. Freedom of thought is an essential condition of pro-

possible for people of the same culture to fight and destroy one another

11. The developments that have taken place in science and industry have enormously increased material resources and not only added to material comforts but created a craze for enjoyment and pleasure-seeking. While people have certainly the right to a decent living and society must ensure it for all, it is not desirable to concentrate on such pleasures unduly though, of course, the stress in this matter will vary from the rich to the poor. There should be some *diverting* of interest from the ephemeral to the abiding and permanent interests and values.

12. Selfishness is the moral basis of the present crisis. Unless we can implement in our lives the principle of "doing unto others what we wish them to do to us" there can be neither happiness nor justice.

13. A distinction must be made between culture which enshrines the highest values of a people and civilization which is its outer goal and which changes with the times with socio-economic forces. Indian civilization is largely Western to-day though she has her own characteristic values. Our problem is to establish a balance between the forces of our culture and civilization. If a civilization embodies the best values of a culture it will abide and progress.

14. The danger in the present crisis is that we may lose *our hold on* the permanent human values and the real choice before us is not between the old and the new between the spiritual and the material but between what is of permanent and abiding value and what is not.

15. The present cultural crisis is specially acute because it has occurred in a revolutionary period and the present day conflicts are much greater and deeper than those in the past which sometimes adjusted themselves in the ordinary course. Thinkers, teachers and intellectuals cannot afford to be complacent in the face of this *crisis which is symbolized by the* Atom Bomb in the international *field and by the emergency* of certain illiberal and fascist tendencies, not congenial to the genius of India, on the national front. We must fight against

all narrow revivalism and fanaticism and create a humanistic outlook on social, cultural and political problems.

III OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF NATIONAL UNITY

1. The communal problem, in its limited sense of Hindu Muslim Tension on the political front, is not so tense now but it is essential to create in the Muslim minority a feeling of security and trust and to eradicate the social and cultural aftermath of the Partition. Communal fanaticism is repugnant to the spirit of religion, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh and the emphasis on secularism means that religious passions and appeals should not be exploited for political purposes. Hindus and Muslims can both contribute to this end in various way by a better cultural understanding through study of whatever is of value in their characteristic heritage, by resisting narrow cultural revivalism which is in evidence in some directions, by closer political association on a non-communal basis.

2. There are certain communal tendencies within Hindu society which should be eradicated, particularly in relation to the caste system and the treatment of Harijans who must be accepted on a footing of complete social equality and without mental reservations or political motives.

3. The position on the language front is becoming clearer. The place of the regional language at least upto the college stage is assumed and there is a growing realization of the fact that English, as a medium of international contact and a symbol of our 'One World' has still an important play in our national and intellectual life. So far as the federal language is concerned, the opposition to Hindi in many parts can be overcome if there is no undue hurry and an attitude of imposition adopted in popularizing it. If regional languages are given proper scope and the fear of a "Hindi domination" is eliminated, time will work in its favour. But on the part of all, there should be an attitude of welcome and respect for all languages and scripts.

4. In the matter of education, our language policy should be to make the regional languages the media so far as possible but we should make the teaching of national,

language compulsory throughout. At the highest i.e. the post-graduate level, we may have several types of institutions—some teaching through the national language some through the regional languages and some even through English but the general pattern will be that of regional language institutions.

5. When we speak of Hindi as the national language of India, we mean that broad based, popular language, not confined to a small coterie of Sanskrit scholars, which Gandhiji had in mind when he advocated the cause of Hindustani. In fact, any languages, Sanskrit itself when brought to the masses and tried on the touchstone of popular usage is bound by the natural laws of language development to take on that form.

6. So far as the question of Scientific Terminology is concerned we should certainly keep the terms that are generally used, but should borrow new terms for the International Terminology and should have generally speaking the same terms as the regional and national language.

7 Regionalism and Provincialism are not entirely the creation of the British rule though they have become intensified in recent years. The unification of the whole country in the past has occurred only a few times and at long intervals and, therefore regional feelings have existed for a long time. While a strongly centralized Government is not feasible as a remedy certain other measures can be tried, e.g.

(a) There should be greater unity of policy and con trol in the educational field, particularly at the Univer sity stage.

(b) There should be interchange of students and teachers between provinces which would be facilitated if at the highest stages of education, there is one medium of instruction. The technical terms should in any case be uniform.

(c) The curriculum should be broadened, e.g. history should include a study of the culture and life of people in different lands. The ideal of unity can be appropriately stressed even at the primary stage.

(d) Social groupings like clubs and hotels should not be envisaged on a regional or communal or provincial basis.

(e) Similarly communal educational institutions are a hindrance in the development of true nationalism and should be transformed into institutions open to all and solicitous for all.

(f) Care should be taken to see that no organizations with a narrow or intolerant fascist mentality are allowed to play on regional or communal feelings in the garb of doing cultural work.

8. Secularism should be interpreted strictly and impartially so as to apply to the majority as well as minority groups. It would be wrong to regard cultural revivalism or religious associations of the majority group as being national while the same things applied to the minority groups might be interpreted as communal or sectarian.

9. It is necessary to distinguish between unity and uniformity. Uniformity offers a short cut—no need to have different languages or communities or religions or cultural trends; let them all be steam-rolled! But this is a disastrous policy. What we need is not a monotone but a symphony—a unity in diversity—which offers a long and difficult road but that is the right road. We should attempt a 'federation' in the cultural field also, welcoming and finding room for all languages, all literatures, all schools of music, all ways of thinking and life which accept certain basic standards of decency.

10. Loyalties are of slow growth and we should try intelligently and tactfully to win over the loyalty of all groups and communities through sound education and fair, administrative social and economic policies. Every community in India has to pass the test of a genuine loyalty to the country to the satisfaction of its own conscience and of the country as a whole. If a brother feels in danger in our midst it is really our own soul that is in danger.

11. We must try to broaden the basis of our which in the past has been often exercised in the of our caste or family or community ...

practices like nepotism patronage and communal favouritism have not been common but have had social approval. The tendency to turn public opportunities to personal advantage should receive unsparing public condemnation.

12. Schools must create a faith in democratic institutions through their own teaching and activities and the general set-up of the social institutions in the country should stimulate and strengthen the democratic approach and discourage reactionary or fascist forces whatever the garb in which they may seek to enlist the interest and support of youth.

13. We should not sacrifice the values of Democracy for the sake of short-term efficiency and speed which totalitarian methods may ensure. We must guard the right of free self expression of our opponents as keenly as we guard our own right—otherwise we shall be guilty of giving up democracy at the very first trial!

14 Democracy has not yet become an operative force in our life because we are still in the "agitational" state of mind where criticism is looked upon as almost an end in itself and the requisite mental attitude for the successful functioning of democracy has not been developed i.e. capacity for mutual compromise and accommodation, respect for different opinions, vigilance in the protection of fundamental rights, active effort for the removal of social ills and civic discomforts rather than their passive acceptance.

15. Education must take note of the fact that there has been in recent decades a general growth in intolerance dishonesty selfishness bad civic manners and inefficiency which has gone on side by side with the unexampled record put up by lakhs of people on the political front. This is more marked in 'power groups' than in the common people and, therefore the responsibility of educational i[illegible]itutions, through which such individuals have to pass, [illegible] even greater

IV PROBLEMS [illegible] VED I [illegible] OF

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blish a co-operative, non-exploitative society organized in a secular and democratic state. This should reorient all our educational thinking and activity

2. We must guard against the danger of indulging in romanticism about the past. We should adopt a critical approach to our social and cultural heritage, accepting what is good and courageously rejecting what is bad. This will provide the intellectual substratum of our national character.

3. The values that we regard as worthy of our honour cannot be transferred through work only — to become real they must be "experienced But our education is largely a process of transmission of words and not transmitting living experience into character. Thus scientists are often not seeking for truth but looking for jobs; artists and critics talk about art or literature but do not experience beauty: teachers and professors talk about honesty and truth instead of practising them in their conduct. In this conspiracy of hypocrisy our schools, colleges and homes are all implicated and they must now all join in humanising education and giving it intellectual integrity

4. The business of our educationists and thinkers is

(a) to study understand and interpret what values we stand for and

(b) to help us to experience these values of our intellectual, moral and artistic heritage.

This "experiencing of values through work" does not refer to manual work only but includes intellectual work and unconscious assimilation through the influence of environment also. But handwork appeals to most children and at the basic stage it would be the normal avenue of appeal.

5. To be able to do so, we should learn to think 'objectively' i.e. rationally and critically 'with our head and not with our blood. The Fascist outlook is based on thinking with the blood i.e. in the light not of moral principles but of our affiliations with a race or a creed or a family Objectivity does not mean neutrality between basic issues and [illegible] of life but looking at things in the light of principles rather than personal interest—not accepting or

because they do or do not suit us — and fight fearlessly in behalf of what we are convinced is right.

6. Basic Education if it is organised in the right spirit, can become a powerful factor in the moulding of the national mind along right lines. This implies the transformation of our "book schools" into "work schools" or communities of work and experience which would shift the moral and psychological emphasis in education. It is not information but living and assimilation that educate. But nothing can be achieved unless there is a sense of national urgency

7 Teachers have to play a decisive role in this reorientation of the national character and they cannot do so unless their economic as well as intellectual and cultural standards are raised very considerably On the other hand, while they have every right to demand and get reasonable standards of living, they must cultivate in themselves higher standards of conduct and values. They cannot look enviously at black market wealth and simultaneously enjoy the luxury of despising it and running it down!

8. In this, as in every great revolution, the change will have to begin with individual teachers and individual schools which have faith in these ideals and values as such things cannot be done by a Government fiat. Virtue, like vice, is contagious and we can defeat a good deal of the prevailing pessimism by an act of faith—faith in the triumph of what is good.

9 Schools should join in the preparation of good books for our national life and cultural heritage—teachers can prepare small booklets in co-operation with their students. This is not a democratic or spectacular way but it is the only practicable and effective way of getting out of the vicious circle.

10 Schools should encourage religious tolerance in pupils by a reverent study of various religions so far as possible at that stage and by placing in their hands a book full of parallel passages containing high ethical teachings taken from different scriptures.

11. There should be a reinterpretation of history not with the object of sacrificing truth to national patriotism but to give the students a proper understanding of what is really

significant in their own history and the history of the world.

12. We should mobilise all our educative resources — not only schools but press, radio cinema, family influences, etc.,—to orient our national character in the light of these ideals and we should adopt a positive and not a passive attitude in this behalf. No effective influence can be exercised on the outlook and character of the growing generation unless we can somehow harmonise the influence of the school and the other educative agencies.

13. We have been so obsessed with the tragic happenings of the last few years that we have not experienced freedom — not felt that we are a free people — and have been drifting along. If education fails to create a living sense of freedom, we may lose the great opportunity that has come to us to refashion our ways of life and thought.

V DEVELOPMENT OF A SCIENTIFIC OUTLOOK.

1. While there is a theoretical acceptance on the part of many people of the soundness of the scientific outlook, its actual application to life is rare and limited. There is a lack of consistency between their intellectual convictions and practice.

2. This scientific outlook must be cultivated in students in schools and colleges through the properly oriented study of science and through other subjects like history literature civics, where controversial issues have to be examined. The sharpening of their powers of observation and critical thinking, the cultivation of an objective attitude, is more important than practical laboratory training.

3. The teaching of science should avoid early specialisation and room must be found for the physical and biological sciences as well as history of science. Moreover the students of Arts and Science should be able to understand and appreciate some of the ideals and techniques of each other's field of work.

4. It must permeate all aspects and phases of life and not be confined to scientific work only i.e. it should be a life principle not merely to technique informing our study of social, moral, ethical and even philosophical issues. Such an

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outlook would reject romantic nonsense about the past as well as the glib acceptance of all that happens to be new The fruit of such an outlook is the patient understanding and tolerance of different views and the acceptance of the tentative nature of opinions. A fanatical or totalitarian attitude is the very antithesis of this outlook. In our national life, we have achieved a certain measure of the removal of physical untouchability but it has still to be achieved at the mental and emotional level where it expresses itself in the form of intellectual intolerance and inability to entertain differences with good humour and mutual understanding.

5. We must learn to attach more importance to opinions on their merits than *to persons who may voice them.* In science, unlike philosophy there is no worship of great names. Our leaders and intellectuals must cultivate the courage to stake their popularity lose elections and powers and privileges in the service of truth.

6. Persuasion of the mind is more difficult than compulsion which may sometimes be fatally easy But that is the only reasonable and humane way

7 The scientific outlook involves the reconciliation of the past, the present and the future and is both conservative and revolutionary

8. Knowledge and scholarship by themselves do not necessarily bring about such an outlook and one often meets scientists who are quite irrational and even superstitious outside their special spheres.

9 Science cannot by itself reveal the full nature of reality or the purpose behind it. Philosophy and Religious Experience too have their important place in life and contribute to its fullness. Science must, therefore recognize its limitations and education must teach people to see life steadily and see it whole.

10 A scientific outlook requires the capacity on the part of an individual to think for himself. Training for it should, therefore, begin at home and with children in school —through their early questions and discussions between teachers and children leading to sifting of facts and ideas.

VI WHAT PART CAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS PLAY IN DEVELOPING A NATIONAL OUTLOOK AND CULTURAL UNITY AND IN PROVIDING TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

1. The task of education is both to conserve social heritage and to help in the reconstruction and the improvement of the social order

2. But, being itself a part of the social process, it has considerable limitations upon its powers. Every State and social order—in fact every group—tries to utilize its influence for its own conservation, for shutting out uncongenial ideas; the conflict of various interests is often mirrored in the curricula and methods as well as the ideology of education.

3. Schools and Colleges must, however be secured reasonable freedom of thought and the fear of thought, which is almost universal amongst vested interests, should be eradicated. Our class-rooms, preoccupied only with imparting of information, have become intellectually rusty—they should become centres of free discussion and should learn to survey actual problems dispassionately and critically

4. We must try and break down the gulf not only between the intellectuals and the masses but also between men of creative ideals and culture on the one hand, and the teachers on the other The present position is that one group is concerned with cultural issues in the abstract while the other is tied down to class-room routine and there is no cross-fertilization

5 In order to promote the right kind of citizenship and encourage a common national and human consciousness, the following measures can be tried in schools and Colleges

(a) Transformation of communal institutions and hostels.

(b) Organization of inter-provincial games and tours and exchange of teachers.

(c) Re-writing of national history to show co-operative effort and achievements in the past and the inculcation of a national outlook through various text

(d) Free discussion of all points of view w

to teachers to express their preferences without an attempt at indoctrination.

(e) Recruitment of teachers who will be free of caste and creed prejudices.

(f) This process should begin early and even in primary schools, children should transcend the idea of mutual differences through common games, common meals, common uniform and participation in activities like Scouting and various group projects.

(g) Corporate activity in schools which brings children into the comradeship of common effort for common causes is the only permanent basis for mutual understanding and respect, because it involves learning through living.

6. While all these measures are undoubtedly necessary it should be remembered that the problem is really deeper and will not be solved merely by changing the names of communal institutions or asking teachers to take pledge of a non-communal outlook. Institutions, non-communal in name and open to all communities, may be as narrow in their outlook and anti national as any communal ones. The real problem is to change the hearts and minds of people—parents, teachers and children—so that they will appreciate the values of the higher loyalty to humanistic ideals as against narrow ideals of race and creed and sect. This need not imply an indifference to religion—in fact different people will draw their inspiration for this attitude from different sources—it may be religion or science or socialism or humanism. We should realize that there is nothing anomalous in a man being a good Hindu or Muslim or Sikh and a good Indian or a man being a good Indian or Chinese or Russian and a good citizen of the world at the same time. In fact, true religion and true patriotism demand such an attitude—of respect for truth on whichever side it is found and of readiness to subordinate the lesser for the greater cause.

7 A transformation of character attitudes and outlook is only possible when the whole educational system—methods, curricula, books, ideology discipline—is transformed. Otherwise we shall be only tinkering with the problems.

The irresistible pressure of the entire educational and social machinery should fall on the side of the ideals that we cherished.

8. Special attention must be given to the retraining of teachers, through better selection and the reconstruction of the methods and contents of Training College courses. These Colleges are too pre-occupied at present with 'tricks of the trade' and not enough with 'humanizing' teachers, giving them social sensitivity and teaching them how to use the various subjects as tools for cultivating the right ideology and outlook in their pupils.

9. Steps should be devised to bring the students into closer touch with the rural population and its problems and for this purpose adequate schemes of social service should be worked out.

10. The Universities should particularly attend to the needs of adult education through organizing centres, discussion groups and settlements and producing suitable literature and illustrative material.

11. In the selection of teachers and other workers, efficiency should be our main criterion. But we should remember that this can only be a success if those who are to select possess integrity and impartiality and efficiency does not itself become a cloak for favouritism.

12. Universities must eradicate the ignoble politics which have entered into them.

13. Free discipline is necessary in childhood because suppression results in producing frustration and psychological perversions in children. Morality cannot be taught through prohibitions of undue restrictions. A happy childhood leads to a normal and contented adult life and Art can play a valuable part in realizing the inner rhythm of a child's personality. At this stage, women teachers can prove more useful than men.

14. Training for citizenship does not mean merely teaching a few mechanical habits and civic rules but involves the enrichment of the whole personality in all directions by providing a rich and happy and healthy environment. An

to teachers to express their preferences without an attempt at indoctrination.

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CONCLUDING SPEECH BY THE CHAIRMAN

SHRI K. G. SAIYIDAIN

Shri K. G. Saiyidain made the following points

1. We who are concerned with the world of mind and ideas should not be modest or apologetic about our professional status. In the past in most countries, including ours, intellectuals have often been content to play the part of 'train bearers' for politicians and men with influence, power and money. But this position is unworthy of them and dangerous for the future of the world. It is true that some 'literature of protest' has been produced during the last few decades but, as a whole, our writers and teachers and thinkers have not played their full part. What were they doing when the whole country was ablaze with fanaticism and madness and what had they done earlier to arrest the growth of this mentality? We should, therefore frankly acknowledge our measure of responsibility for what has happened as well as the power and influence that we can wield if we learn to pull together in the service of worthy ideals.

2. I am not inclined to agree with the sense of complacency displayed by some members who think that there is no really serious cultural crisis at all but merely a temporary maladjustment which will be set right in ordinary course. If one fails to see this crisis which hits one blatantly in the eye it means that either he has no vision or his 'ivory tower' is so strategically and conveniently situated that he cannot see the desperate struggle of ideas and ideals going on all around! Sometimes one can see the decline that has set in our character and values even more clearly in little everyday things than in the big happenings and misdirections of natural life. Occasionally when I compare the attitudes and behaviour of our ancestors with those of our own generation, I have the feeling that, while their outlook may have been more limited and circumscribed, they really had a deeper and more sincere loyalty to their ideals and

prepared to pay the price of adhering to them. We, on the other hand, are apt to talk big but have hardly genuine loyalty and ideals. In this age of commercialism, the get rich-quick mentality and the selfish approach to life have taken the place of idealism.

3. This is not the occasion to stress the positive side of our balance-sheet because we have met here to assess and criticize and not to praise ourselves, so that we may be clear in our own minds what the issues are that we have to face. So, I would endeavour to illustrate with the help of a few examples, the determination that has set in our national character to which education, in its widest sense must seriously address itself.

(a) There is an alarming decline in our civic standards and it is not perhaps an exaggeration to say that a public concern is no one's concern. As a people, we are often guilty of criminal indifference towards public welfare, of causing public waste without compunction and, even when we do not do so ourselves, we see the things being done by others but register no protest e. g. waste of water and light in public places, waste of money and paper in offices, vandalism in railway carriages, making parks and streets and gardens unclean, throwing about rubbish wherever convenient. The frequent break-down or inefficiency of local self-government is another proof of our inability to think in terms of public welface and our readiness to turn official opportunities to personal account. We have yet to learn even the formation of queues it is not usual to see young men elbowing old and weak women out of their way and forcing themselves into trains and trams and buses—what one member appropriately called 'the storm-trooper's mentality' Unless we can put it down not only through education but also through strong public disapproval as well as strong punitive action, we shall not become a truly civilized people. The man who lowers the standards of national manners and ignores his civic obligations does not deserve to be treated more leniently than, say the man who indulges in petty larceny

(b) Another dangerous tendency is the lowering of our standards of efficiency and the growing tendency to do work

in a slipshod and haphazard manner. Speaking generally it is perhaps true to say that most of our workers, manual as well as intellectual, are not concerned so much with mastery of their subject or perfection of skill or pride in achievement—they are anxious to get on with the least that will do. Thus a mason will make a bath-room from which water will not flow out, a carpenter will make doors which will not fit properly, coach builders will construct lorries in which comfortable travelling will be impossible, officials and clerks will do just enough work to avoid censure, teachers and professors will be content to teach what they had learnt decades ago, students will often prepare for the examination during the last few months so that they may just learn enough to pass it or if they happen to be ambitious, to secure a good class. As one speaker pungently remarked, many of our scientists hanker not after truth but after jobs and our artists are often content to talk about art instead of experiencing beauty through the travail of the spirit. We are becoming increasingly unworthy to pay the price of perfection in terms of hard, honest, interested work. To my mind, bad workmanship is not a technical or vocational fault but a serious moral crime and Carlyle was quite right when he spoke of the lazy and incompetent carpenter "who broke all the ten Commandments with every single stroke of his hammer". Of course there are many honourable exceptions—both individuals and groups—but there is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that our national standards of efficiency have gone down and must be radically improved.

(c) Then, our education must particularly concern itself with bridging the gulf between our Ideals and Action—what Dr Zakir Hussain called transforming our values into 'experienced values'. While our Culture and Religion and Philosophy stress Truth and Integrity, we find a deplorable lack of both in our everyday life,—glib lying for personal gain, petty pilfering, ticketless travel, taxless incomes, black-marketing on an unprecedented scale. We hold that the whole of life is an integral moral unity, that it is a trust from God, that it should be permeated by moral considerations and values in all its aspects, that in the *beautiful words of the*

Prophet of Islam "the entire world is a mosque or holy ground" But, in actual practice, we have different and often contradicting standards in private and public life. Sometimes even decent persons—i. e. decent in their personal and family relationships—indulge in nepotism, jobbery and corruption and imagine that they are only being kind-hearted and doing good to their dependents and that there is no harm in it! The fact that society does not outcaste them and in fact, knowingly accepts them as honourable members, reveals a general lowering of moral standards. Again, as against our ideological attachment to spiritual values, there is in practice a growing commercialism of outlook which regards even education as a purely marketable commodity and which is prepared lightly to subordinate public interest to personal ends in politics, business, administration and even in the running of educational institutions.

Above all, traditionally we have been devoted to the values of peace and Mahatma Gandhi had made Ahimsa our guiding star even in the political struggle. But nowhere was the breach between theory and practice mirrored more clearly than in this field when, with the apostle of non-violence in our midst, we indulged in communal riots and other atrocities which one should fain forget if oblivion could remove the possibility of their recurrence. If these horrors had been committed by a few thousand persons, one could have perhaps consoled oneself with the thought that there are always such brutes in all countries and all ages and what are a few thousand evil persons in a population of 400 million? But

deeds! Can moral insensitiveness go further? There were no doubt here and there persons, belonging to all communities, who staked and sacrificed their lives to save men, women and children of other communities from the mad revenge and blood-lust of their own co-religionists. All honour to them for they are the salt of the earth, but their number alas, was limited. What were our teachers and educators and social workers and many of our political leaders doing at the time? Where was our vaunted spirituality which suffered the brute in us to triumph?

4. I mention these instances, big and small, to show that poison has entered deep into the minds and hearts of many people and must be eradicated. It is fatal not to recognize it. We have undoubtedly great reserves of spiritual strength and we must draw upon them without delay. And so long as the power of introspection and self-examination is not dead in a people there is every hope of recovery. This Convention itself is a proof of the fact that we possess this capacity for national introspection. The first step in this catharsis of the soul is the clarification of our own ideas about the malady and a recognition of its symptoms, coupled with a determination that we shall mobilize all our resources to combat the danger. This is what we have been trying to do. The next step is the thinking out of concrete measures that can be adopted which is more difficult because we are dealing with a wide-spread psychological situation affecting hundreds of millions of persons for which no quick, easy generally applicable and fool-proof remedy can be found. It is bound to be a long process beginning with the very difficult task of the transformation of our own individual selves and widening out into the reconstruction of the entire educational and socio-economic system. Some of the likely measures have been suggested during these deliberations; many others will occur to all those who are prepared to face this question honestly and sincerely. The important thing is to try and break the vicious circle in our own immediate spheres. All of us should become bearers of the message of the Convention to various parts of the country and should try to establish nuclei in all the universities and colleges for the

and frank discussion of these vital issues. It is not necessary that all teachers and students should accept the idential conclusions that we have arrived at but it is essential for them to realize that these issues exist and it is necessary that they should be trained to discuss and thrash them out with objectivity and that the general trend of their thought should be in harmony with the spirit of humanism which this Convention has advocated. If we can inspire them with that spirit, we shall have made an invaluable contribution to the salvation of our national soul!

MANIFESTO OF THE CONVENTION

We are faced today with a grave crisis in our culture which is threatening many of our important social, intellectual and moral values. It has tended to undermine our national character and lower the standards of our civic life and integrity. We find various manifestations of it around us which no one with a social vision and social conscience can fail to notice or ignore. It is imperatively necessary therefore, that all men and women of goodwill, who are concerned about the future of their country—teachers, writers, thinkers and artists—should assess the situation critically and objectively and strive to improve it.

We, the delegates to the Convention discussed some of the basic problems involved in this crisis and, as a result of full prolonged discussions, we have formulated the following propositions which represent a fair consensus of opinion and on the lines along which we should direct our own thinking and that of our fellow citizens. It is possible that some of these propositions may strike our fellow workers in the field of culture outside the Convention as self-evident or even platitudinous. That is, however only a measure of the gravity of the present crisis—namely that it should be necessary to reaffirm these ideas publicly and unambiguously. We have done so because we are poignantly aware that many forces and tendencies have of late been developing in our national life which threaten to disrupt or have actually disrupted, these values.

1 We are convinced that, inspite of ideological differences, it is possible for all of us to come together and join in a community of effort on the platform of a broad humanism which rests on a full and frank recognition of the inherent dignity of man as man and of all men and implies that each has the right to the fullest development of his powers and personality

2. We believe that this can only be possible if there is adequate provision of material as well as cultural facilities

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cratic outlook which would be wedded to the establishment of a co-operative, non-exploiting social order in a secular and democratic state, ensuring equality of opportunity to all and making no discrimination amongst people on grounds of caste or creed or sex or race or colour or social status or political opinions.

8. We believe that no value can become real and operative in our life unless, through action, it becomes an "experienced value" At present there is a dangerous and growing breach between our ideals and our conduct, our ideas and our action. Ideals that we theoretically cherish should be so presented and assimilated as to become an active influence in the shaping of our conduct.

9. We believe that freedom of thought is not only essential for progress in the technical as well as social and moral fields but is part of the dignity that inheres in man. It should be allowed and encouraged in society as well as in educational institutions which should consciously cultivate in the students a capacity for free and critical thinking and developing in them a national and scientific outlook which they may learn to apply to all aspects of their life and work. This outlook implies thinking objectively i.e. with the head and not with the blood" and is to some extent a safeguard against unreasonable prejudices superstitions and unfair partisanship

10. We are convinced that it would be impossible to achieve any worthy national ends without cultivating high personal integrity and exacting standards of conduct in individuals. Our education which has been predominently academic in the past in its approach as well as objective must now consciously concentrate on this aspect of its work.

11. We feel that we should place our emphasis on the development of a national rather than a regional or provincial or communal outlook and utilize our educational institutions and other media of mass communication for the purpose.

12. As the teachers are the main instruments for bringing about this psychological reorientation, it is essential that their material and cultural standards should be considerably raised.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONVENTION

1. This Convention welcomes and heartily supports the Endowment's proposal to establish an Institute of National Service.

2. With a view to achieve the main aim and object of cultural and national unity in India this Convention recommends that the delegates of the various Universities and cultural organizations in the country do their best to implement the ideals of the Convention both in their individual capacity and through the organizations they represent.

3. This Convention recommends to the Universities and Education Departments of the Government of India and various provinces and states that at all stages of education an impetus be given to the development of the sense of cultural and national unity through a new orientation in the teaching of social studies, particularly history which would emphasize the cultural contribution of the different peoples in India and outside to the growth of culture, rather than mere political events like wars and the rise and fall of dynasties.

4. This Convention recommends to the Parekh Endowment that a series of pamphlets bearing on cultural unity may be published under its auspices and if it is not able to undertake that work, financial support may be given to any other organization doing this work.

5. This Convention appreciates very much the attempt of the Parekh Endowment in having enabled the various representatives of Governments and educational and cultural institutions to meet at Mahabaleshwar to confer on vital cultural problems of our national life and

feels satisfied that a good deal of preliminary work has been done. To continue this work of evolving cultural unity in India it is desirable that such gatherings should be held periodically at different centres in India. This Convention, therefore, recommends that the Endowment should explore the possibility of holding such Conventions in future and also of establishing contact with other allied agencies and organizations in the field.

6. This Convention is of the opinion that students of all secondary schools and colleges in the country should be provided with opportunities and facilities as a part of their educational programme, to spend some of their vacation every year in rural areas, in students rural camps, with a view to do social and cultural work. If possible, there should be inter-provincial rural camps of students.

The Convention feels that students rural camps would considerably help to bring about a better understanding between rural and urban areas, create a spirit of unity amongst students, would help to equip the future citizens of the country with a comprehensive and cohesive knowledge of the country and would also serve to improve the rural areas themselves.

7 This Convention is emphatically of opinion that the existence of denominational and communal educational institutions and hostels is detrimental to the growth of a common national and cultural otulook and requests early steps be taken to divest such institutions of their communal character both in form and spirit.

The Chairman summed up the proceedings.

Dr Paranjpye moved a vote of thanks to the Government of Bombay for permitting the use of the Government House at Mahabaleshwar and the Hon'ble Premier for gracing the Convention. He also thanked the Chairman for the very great work that he had been doing for the Convention and admired the courtesy knowledge and tolerance he

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONVENTION

1 This Convention welcomes and heartily supports the Endowment's proposal to establish an Institute of National Service.

2. With a view to achieve the main aim and object of cultural and national unity in India this Convention recommends that the delegates of the various Universities and cultural organizations in the country do their best to implement the ideals of the Convention both in their individual capacity and through the organizations they represent.

3. This Convention recommends to the Universities and Education Departments of the Government of India and various provinces and states that at all stages of education an impetus be given to the development of the sense of cultural and national unity through a new orientation in the teaching of social studies, particularly history which would emphasize the cultural contribution of the different peoples in India and outside to the growth of culture, rather than mere political events like wars and the rise and fall of dynasties.

4. This Convention recommends to the Parekh Endowment that a series of pamphlets bearing on cultural unity may be published under its auspices and if it is not able to undertake that work, financial support may be given to any other organization doing this work.

5. This Convention appreciates very much the attempt of the Parekh Endowment in having enabled the various representatives of Governments and educational and cultural institutions to meet at Mahabaleshwar to confer on vital cultural problems of our national life and

THE T. A. PAREKH EDUCATION ENDOWMENT

[Under whose auspices the Convention met]

The ideals of the Endowment can best be summed up in the words of the donor himself "Right from the time I had been at school, I have been feeling that the human being—perhaps the most blessed creation of God—has a clear duty to his kind Creator, and that every thoughtful person has an obligation or a duty to do something that would bring happiness to mankind. I then saw and studied the selfless work of a number of men and then wondered all the time if I would ever have an opportunity of walking in their footsteps. Many evils brought about by the war and the conditions resulting therefrom have made man ever more selfish, more narrow-minded, poorer in outlook, besides making him suspicious of everything that goes on around him and therefore highly self-preserving. How much one longs to be free from such an atmosphere and to live in a world breathing of healthy air! Such a world needs to be created."

Love and tolerance, faith and understanding, inculcation of moral values—these alone can help the creation of such a world. The intellectuals and the masses are to be brought into unison and formed into a powerful force to counteract hatred, suspicion and ignorance. Education is the only potent force which can arm the common man against anti-social tendencies and existing dangers to freedom. For centuries past, till the very recent Gandhian Era, India has sent to the world cultural and spiritual forces for the betterment of mankind. In this land of rich heritage, peace, unity and strength have to be conserved for the good of the world.

For any one person, this task is too great and the donor does not expect to achieve the impossible with his limited resources.

The Endowment, in consultation with noted social workers and leaders of thought, has made a small beginning

undertaking some useful activities in the field of education, one of which is the Convention on Cultural Unity in India.

Peace, Unity and Progress are the aims of the Endowment. Proper education of the masses and co-operation of the intellectuals are the means. Service of humanity is the all-transcending ideal of the donor The Endowment is a very modest attempt towards this good end.